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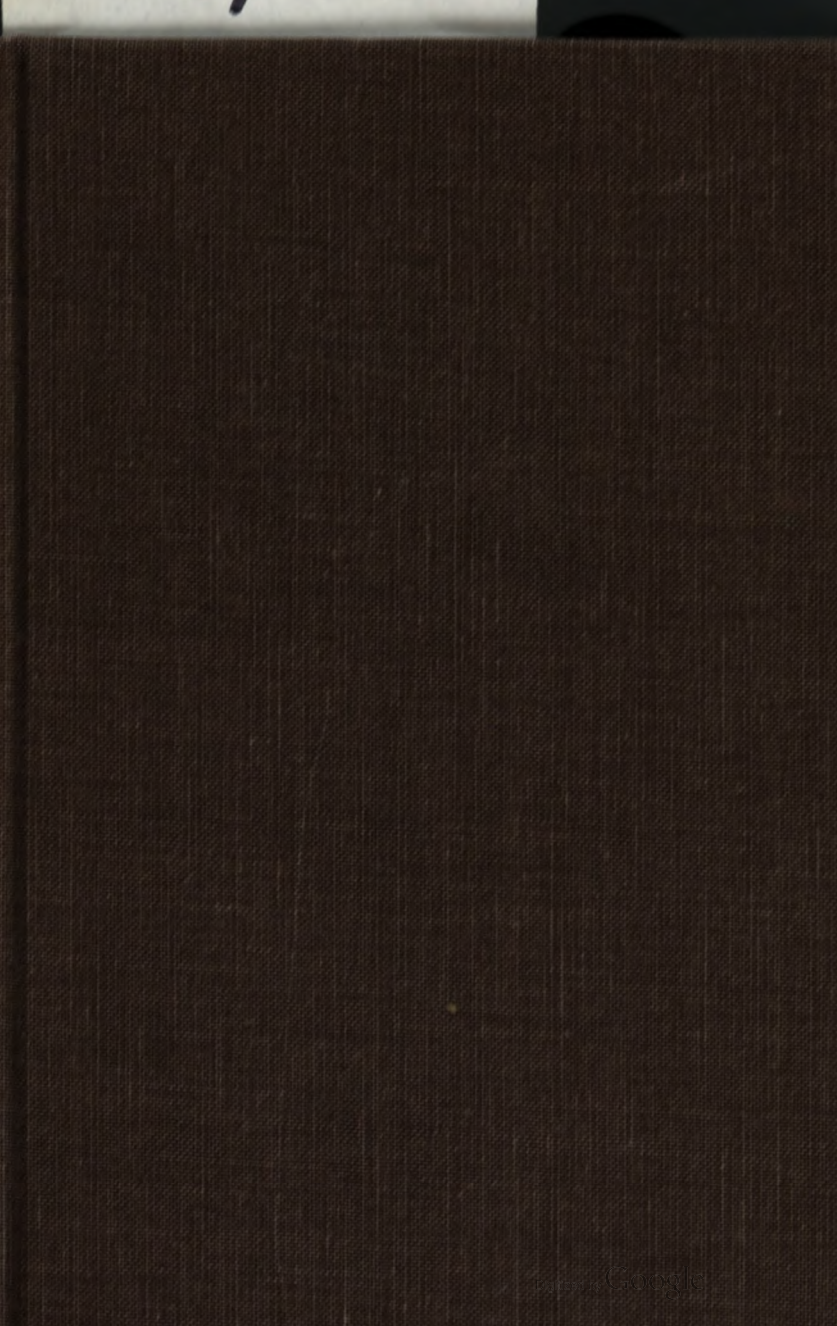
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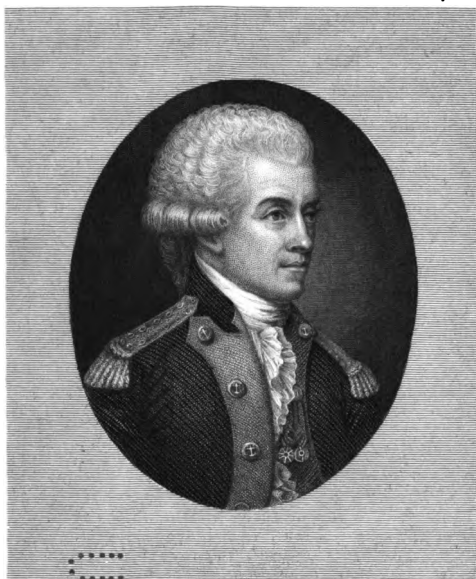


THE
LIFE OF PAUL JONES.



5





PAUL JONES

John Paul Jones

*Original from a miniature in the possession
of the Hon. Wm. B. Franklin, Esq.*

HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW-YORK.

THE

TOWNS.

THE
LIFE OF PAUL JONES.

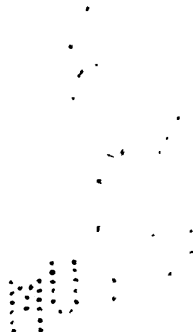
BY

ALEXANDER SLIDELL MACKENZIE, U. S. N

VOL. I

NEW-YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, 82 CLIFF STREET.

1845.



Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by
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P R E F A C E.

THE following work was undertaken some years ago, at the request of Mr. J. Sparks, the distinguished editor of the "Library of American Biography," with a view to its forming part of that valuable work. Professional occupations have only within the last few months permitted the writer to make use of the materials that were placed in his hands. They consist of a "Life of Paul Jones," published in 1825, by Mr. J. H. Sherburne, then Register of the Navy, from the documents on file in the government offices, and from a portion of the private papers of Jones, to which Mr. Sherburne had access; of a more elaborate work on the same subject, published in

Edinburgh in 1830, from the materials furnished by Mr. Sherburne, from log-books of Jones's various cruises, and from original papers in possession of his heirs; and, lastly, of a third life, published in New York in 1830, by Mr. Robert Sands, from the materials used in the Edinburgh work, and subsequently brought to this country by a niece of Paul Jones.

As these works are chiefly composed of original letters of Jones, they convey a sufficiently distinct idea of his life and character. But the historical style in which all these works are written necessarily involves the insertion of such a mass of documents, as to swell their bulk with matter which is not always of interest to the general reader, whilst his mind is fatigued by unavoidable repetitions, interruptions, and irregularities of date. To avoid these difficulties, the narrative style of biography has been adopted in the following work, by the advice of Mr. Sparks, and it has been the

object of the writer to state all the known facts in the life of Paul Jones, in a simple, consecutive manner, according to their natural order of succession. As, however, the writings of an individual often convey to the mind a more distinct idea of his thoughts and feelings than can otherwise be obtained, letters of Paul Jones have been occasionally introduced; the temptation to introduce more was very great, as he wrote with clearness, spirit, and vigor.

Efforts have been made, both at home and abroad, to procure additional information with which to enrich the present work; but without success. It is not likely that any important materials exist which were not brought under the notice of the Edinburgh writer and Mr. Sands. Paul Jones was particularly careful in placing on record and preserving every thing that could be of value to his biographer. He had a decided conviction that his actions would be the subject of after interest. In addition

to the works already mentioned, a guarded use has been made of the narrative of Captain Fanning, who was a midshipman on board the *Poor Richard*; and various other works have been examined, in which Paul Jones is either incidentally mentioned, or facts are stated having a connexion with his history.

MARCH, 1840.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE portrait of Paul Jones which fronts the title-page is taken from a highly-finished and very beautiful miniature painted by the Countess of Lavendahl, a lady of fashion about the French court, at the time of Paul Jones's visit after the capture of the *Serapis*.

The miniature, coming into the hands of Miss Jannette Taylor, niece of Paul Jones, was presented by her to the late Commander Alexander B. Pinkham, U. S. N., as an acknowledgment for his generous services while on a pedestrian tour in Scotland, in rebuilding the cottage in which her uncle was born, and for kind and hospitable attentions rendered to herself in this country. Shortly before the death of this excellent officer and truly amiable man, he placed the miniature in deposit at the New-York Naval Lyceum. It is, no doubt, the most perfect likeness of Paul Jones that has yet been engraved, being strongly corroborated, as to expression and arrangement of feature, by his bust, as taken by the celebrated French sculptor Houdon for the Masonic Lodge of Nine Sisters in Paris, of which Jones was a member, two copies of which now exist in the collection of the New-York Academy of Design.

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LIFE
OF
PAUL JONES.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Paul Jones. — His Parentage. — His reputed Paternity; disproved. — Situation of his Birth-place. — His first Voyage to Virginia. — Resides with his Brother. — Enters the Slave-Trade. — Abandons it from Humanity. — Becomes Master of a West-Indiaman. — Charged with Cruelty. — The Charge proved to be unfounded. — Charged with Smuggling. — Death of his Brother. — Abandons the Sea. — Settles in Virginia. — Takes Possession of his Brother's Estate. — American Revolution. — Offers his Services. — His Motives. — Is commissioned Lieutenant in the Navy. — Appointed to the Alfred.

IN every pursuit of life, successful example serves to encourage the enterprising and stimulate the doubting. This is eminently the case in the career of arms. England will owe many a future naval hero to the memory of her Nelson. History also furnishes the example of heroes, who, with less extensive means and in a smaller sphere of action, have reflected honor on our own land. Among the fore-

most of these is Paul Jones, the events of whose life it is the object of the following pages to portray.

JOHN PAUL JONES was born on the 6th of July, 1747, on the estate of Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, in Scotland. His father's family was originally from Fifeshire ; but his grandfather removed to Leith, where he followed the business of a gardener. John Paul, the father of our hero, by whom the name of Jones was subsequently assumed, followed the same calling ; on finishing his apprenticeship, he entered into the employment of Mr. Craik, of Arbigland, for whom he laid out the garden much as it now exists, and planted the trees which still surround the mansion.

Soon after John Paul removed to Arbigland, he married Jean Macduff, daughter of a small farmer in the neighbouring parish of New Abbey, whose family had been established in that district from time immemorial. There were seven children from this marriage, the two youngest of whom died in infancy. Of those who survived, and came to years of maturity, the eldest was a boy named William, the next

three were girls, called Elizabeth, Janet, and Mary Ann, and the youngest, John, the subject of the following biography. The long period of John Paul's service with Mr. Craik, and the interest which this gentleman is known to have always taken in the family of his dependent, after the death of the latter, are cited as conclusive evidence of his fidelity and worth.

In after times, when the name of Jones became the subject of romantic interest, an effort was made to assign to him what was thought a nobler origin, as the natural son of the Earl of Selkirk, or of Mr. Craik. As if the brand of illegitimacy, and the stigma on a mother's fame, would be more than compensated by an association with noble names, or a sinister descent from a Scottish earl or from a bonnet laird best known to fame by the fact of our hero being the son of his gardener, would be a more fitting introduction to a career of glory, than birth in honorable wedlock, of humble but honest parents. These calumnies, though intended for commendations, were falsified by the unsullied character of the wife

of John Paul, and by the happiness of their union.

The birth-place of our hero, and the home of his boyish days, are surrounded by scenes well suited to cherish an adventurous temperament, and create an inclination for the sea. Arbigland, the estate of Mr. Craik, occupies a jutting promontory of the Galloway shore, where the river Nith opens into the estuary of the Solway. The bank rises gradually from the water, until it blends with the steep side of Criffel, a towering mountain of granite. While the Nith opens away to the north, and is bounded on the opposite side by the Dumfries shore, the upward course of the Solway may be traced eastward, to where it receives the waters of the Esk. Beyond and far seaward, stretches the Cumberland shore, while in the remote distance rise the majestic tops of Helvellyn, Skiddaw, and the Saddleback. The mansion of Arbigland stands about a quarter of a mile from the shore ; and a little farther west, on the same gently sloping promontory, is the cottage in which young Paul was born. Both buildings are surrounded by

dense masses of thrifty and umbrageous trees, many of them planted by Paul's father, openings through which render the houses visible from the Solway, and conspicuous objects to the passing mariner.*

Amid such scenes as these our hero first gazed abroad upon the world. As years gave him strength to wander, the enchanting views, which on all sides presented themselves, increased the temptation to ramble forth. Sometimes in company with the son of the

* In the summer of 1831, Arbigland was visited by Lieutenant Alexander B. Pinkham, of the United States Navy. He found the cottage, in which Paul Jones was born, a perfect ruin, with only the stone walls, gables, and one chimney standing. Feeling a lively sense of gratitude for the services of Paul Jones to his country, he was painfully affected by this sight, and conceived a strong desire to contribute to the preservation of so interesting a memorial. Through a friend in Dumfries, he sought the acquaintance of Mr. Craik, and was kindly received by him, and readily obtained permission to do what he pleased with the cottage. An architect was employed to make an estimate of the probable expense, and Mr. Pinkham, with a liberality alike creditable to his patriotism and to his professional feelings, generously set apart from his savings the sum of twenty-five sovereigns, which considerably exceeded the estimate. Mr. Craik also entered with spirit into the project, and caused the repairs to be prosecuted on a more extensive scale. The

proprietor, who was very recently still living, he explored the magnificent rocks and caverns, which impart such an air of grandeur to the seaward coast, and which, in more recent times, have furnished romance with scenes for its fictitious horrors ; occasionally, they clomb the side of Criffel, to gaze abroad upon the majestic spectacle which it commands ; or oftener strolled towards the protected bay of Carsethorn, at the foot of the lawn, where vessels not unfrequently took shelter from

present condition of the house may be gathered from the following extract from the "Dumfries Courier," of the 30th of July, 1834, which contains an eloquent tribute to the generous enthusiasm of Mr. Pinkham. "The site of the cottage is a glade in a thriving wood, on the shores of the Solway, with a green in front, fancifully railed in, and tastefully ornamented with evergreens, flowers, and flowering shrubs. Inside and out, it is a trim cottage, which may vie with similar buildings in England ; and, as the walls are whitened annually with the finest lime, it is become a sort of land-mark to nearly every sail that enters the Solway. The widow of a fisherman, who died under highly distressing circumstances, and who owes much to the humanity of Mr. Craik, tenants it rent-free, and will probably close her eyes under its honored roof ; and, as this fact is generally known, almost every tar, in passing the spot, doffs his bonnet in token of gratitude, and says, 'God bless the kind Lieuterant Pinkham !' "

storms. As the boldness of the coast permitted vessels to approach it within a stone's throw, to avoid the tide, their masts, as they glided closely along, seemed blended with the trees through which they were seen ; while the hoarse voices of the mariners, as the commands were given and responded to, resounded loudly through the avenues.

Thus early did our hero become familiar with the sights and language of the sea. Tradition relates, that the words of command, of which he early caught the sound, and perhaps imbibed something of the sense, he was wont to repeat among his playmates, mustered on the shores of some little inlet, each with his mimic bark, while he himself, perched on a rocky eminence, screeched forth the various orders, in imitation of the mariners. At other times, he passed his leisure alone, in similar amusements. Of those, however, who in their boyish days sail boats in brooks and horse-ponds, and sometimes by the sea-shore, there are many who get no farther in the sailor's career, for the taste is a very prevailing one ; but, in the case of our hero, the inclination

must have been very decided ; for at the age of twelve years we find him, with the consent of his parents, crossing the Frith to Whitehaven, which lay opposite to his father's residence, and is the principal port of the Solway, in order to be bound apprentice to Mr. Younger, a merchant in the American trade.

Paul soon after went to sea, in the *Friendship*, of Whitehaven, Captain Benson, bound to the Rappahannock. While in port, he passed his time on shore, with his brother William, who had been some time settled and married at Fredericksburg, in Virginia, where he bore an honorable reputation, and is said to have eventually acquired a handsome fortune. While under his brother's roof, he improved the leisure afforded him, to continue his studies. He particularly devoted himself to navigation. The habit of studious application thus early formed, and unremittingly prosecuted both at sea and on shore, enabled him so far to overcome the disadvantage of an interrupted education, as always to enable him to appear equal to every situation in which he was placed, and subsequently to figure, with-

out risk of an unfavorable comparison, in the highest circles of society. In this respect, his example may be usefully imitated by every youth who makes the sea his profession, whether in the navy or the merchant service ; as it shows, that, however early one may be called from study to the active pursuits of life, leisure and opportunity for the improvement of the mind can never be wanting to those who are sedulous to profit by them.

The uniform good conduct of young Paul, and his extraordinary aptitude in acquiring a knowledge of all that is necessary to form an accomplished seaman, speedily recommended him to the favor and good will of Mr. Younger ; but, the affairs of this gentleman becoming soon after embarrassed, he had no other means of serving his apprentice, than by surrendering his indentures, and abandoning him, at a very early age, to his own guidance. It is a sufficient evidence of the favorable estimation which he had already won for himself, that he was almost immediately employed as third mate of the *King George* slaver, of Whitehaven.

In 1766, being only nineteen years old, he was received on board the brigantine *Two Friends*, a slaver of Jamaica, in the important office of chief mate. This is conclusive evidence that he was already an accomplished seaman, and admitted to possess a firm and decided character. It is stated by the relations of John Paul, from whom the only account of this period of his life is to be derived, that, in abandoning this iniquitous traffic in human beings, he was impelled by an irresistible feeling of disgust at the cruelties and horrors with which it was necessarily attended. As the slave-trade was exceedingly profitable, having mainly contributed to build up the early fortunes of Bristol, Liverpool, and other considerable ports in England, where it is now held in becoming detestation, it is highly probable that the motives of young Paul, in relinquishing it, were those which his relatives ascribe to him, and for which he deserves the greater honor, from their being not only in opposition to his own interests, but so much in advance of the age and country in which he lived.

Giving up his situation on board the *Two Friends*, John Paul sailed from Jamaica for Scotland, in 1768, as a passenger in the brigantine *John*, of Kirkcudbright. Both the master and mate dying of fever on the voyage, Paul assumed the command, and arrived safely at Kirkcudbright. The owners of the vessel, feeling grateful to him for the preservation of their property, placed him on board of the *John*, as master and supercargo, and despatched him to the West Indies. He made a second voyage in the same vessel to the West Indies, and in the course of it became involved in a difficulty, in consequence of his having inflicted punishment on the carpenter of the *John*, Mungo Maxwell by name, by flogging him, in the customary manner, on the back. Maxwell had been guilty of mutinous and disrespectful conduct towards his commander, who made use of the power intrusted to him by the law for the necessary preservation of discipline, to inflict a corresponding punishment. Maxwell was subsequently discharged from the *John*, and entered on board the *Barcelona Packet*, where he took a fever

and died. Out of these circumstances a report originated, that Maxwell owed his death to the punishment inflicted by his commander.

This report, which is supposed to have been circulated by some rivals, who, in the little community of Kirkcudbright, envied the eminence as a shipmaster, to which Paul's intelligence and skill had raised him at such an early age, was fully set at rest at the time by affidavits from persons in authority at Tobago, where the affair took place, and from the master of the vessel on board of which Maxwell died. Nor would it, indeed, have been thought worthy of refutation here, had it not been long after renewed on another scene of action, when Paul's own nephew was substituted for Maxwell, the carpenter, and the motive to detraction, instead of being rivalry for the command of a brigantine, and the desire to supplant him in the favor of its owner, had its origin in the wish to remove him from the command of a warlike fleet, conferred upon him by the favor of Catharine of Russia.

Paul's last visit to Scotland took place in 1771, where he seems to have been looked

upon with some distrust, on account of his alleged cruelty to Maxwell. This affair is adverted to in one of the earliest of his letters extant, written two years afterward, during which interval he must have made other voyages. This letter is interesting as furnishing a transcript of his feelings and character at this early period. It is dated at London, on the 24th of September, 1772.

“ My dear Mother and Sisters,

“ I only arrived here last night, from the Grenadas. I have had but poor health during the voyage ; and my success in it, not having equalled my first sanguine expectations, has added very much to the asperity of my misfortunes, and, I am well assured, was the cause of my loss of health. I am now, however, better ; and I trust Providence will soon put me in a way to get bread, and, which is by far my greatest happiness, be serviceable to my poor, but much valued friends. I am able to give no account of my future proceedings, as they depend upon circumstances which are not fully determined.

“ I have enclosed you a copy of an affidavit

made before Governor Young, by the judge of the court of Vice-admiralty of Tobago, by which you will see with how little reason my life has been thirsted after, and, which is much dearer to me, my honor, by maliciously loading me with obloquy and vile aspersions. I believe there are few who are hard-hearted enough to think I have not long since given the world every satisfaction in my power, being conscious of my innocence before Heaven, which will one day judge even my judges. I staked my honor, life, and fortune for six long months on the verdict of a British jury, notwithstanding I was sensible of the general prejudices which ran against me; but, after all, none of my accusers had the courage to confront me. Yet I am willing to convince the world, if reasons and facts will do it, that they have had no foundation for their harsh treatment. I mean to send Mr. Craik a copy properly proved, as his nice feelings will not, perhaps, be otherwise satisfied; in the mean time, if you please, you may show him that enclosed. His ungracious conduct to me, before I left Scotland, I have not yet been

able to get the better of. Every person of feeling must think meanly of adding to the load of the afflicted. It is true I bore it with seeming unconcern; but Heaven can witness for me that I suffered the more on that account. But enough of this."

The above letter shows a commendable interest in preserving the favorable opinion of those who had hitherto esteemed him, a jealousy of any imputation which was likely to sully it, and a spirit easily wounded by the suspicion of those from whom he expected a confidence in his character, founded on a long-continued observation of its worth. We may discover, also, in his solicitude about his relations, and his desire to be serviceable to his "poor but much valued friends," the traces of a gentle and affectionate spirit. This spirit, which never forsook him, stamps his heroism with the seal of genuineness. As he does not mention his father, he was no doubt dead; and his mother and sisters were probably dependent on their own exertions, and his occasional aid.

There is no means of ascertaining now the

exact nature and motive of the ungracious treatment which he complains of having received from Mr. Craik. It was evidently occasioned by the calumnies of which he was the subject, on account of his punishment of Maxwell; and the acuteness with which he felt it was doubtless augmented by his having always looked up to Mr. Craik for protection, as having been born on his estate, and passed his early years under his immediate observation. It is satisfactory to know that Mr. Craik was subsequently convinced that Paul had been calumniated.

On the completion of the second voyage of the *John*, her owners dissolved partnership, and sold her, giving to young Paul an honorable discharge from their service, as a skilful navigator and supercargo. Subsequently to this period, Paul is said to have been engaged in the smuggling trade, extensively carried on at that time, between the Isle of Man and the shores of the Solway. The first entry of goods from England to the Isle of Man, after it was annexed to the crown, and the motive for smuggling taken away, stands in his name

in the custom-house books of Douglas. This shows that he did trade to the island at one time, and may have given occasion to the report that he was engaged in smuggling to it, when his name became afterwards the subject of vilification. He, however, always denied the charge, and pronounced it calumnious and untrue.

Soon after, we find Paul in command of the *Betsey*, of London, in the West India trade. He continued in this trade for some time, and seems, from his subsequent letters, to have been engaged at Tobago and Grenada, in some commercial speculations on his own account. In 1773, he went to Virginia, to arrange the affairs of his brother William, who had died intestate and without children. As this brother of Paul's is reported by all the biographers to have left a considerable fortune, and as Paul took charge of the estate on behalf of his family, it is difficult to account for the penury of which he soon after complains. About this time he conceived the project of abandoning the profession of the sea, and devoting himself to agriculture, by

taking advantage of the opening which his brother's estate offered. It is probable that he commenced carrying his project into execution, for two years of his life at this period are unaccounted for by his biographers. It is to this period that he subsequently referred, in writing to the Countess of Selkirk, when he said; "Before this war began, I had at the early time of life withdrawn from the sea service, in favor of 'calm contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favorite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart and my prospects of domestic happiness, and am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good will among mankind."

There are no means now of ascertaining whether more was meant by this passage, than to please the ear of the lady to whom he was writing, by this array of soft words, and to present himself before her imagination as a species of knight-errant in the cause of liberty, abandoning the retirement that was dear to him, in order to do battle against tyrants and oppressors. The susceptibility to female attractions, which he afterwards showed, renders

it likely that his feelings may have become interested in the course of a residence of two years on shore ; but, beyond the passage which we have quoted, there is no clue to any entanglement in which our hero's heart may have been engaged during his residence in Virginia. His planting operations do not seem to have prospered, and his brother's fortune, if it ever existed, seems to have evaporated, or to have passed into other hands.

About this time the American Revolution broke out. It found Paul buried in the retirement of the country, and overwhelmed by penury. His feelings had doubtless been long before enlisted in favor of the country of which, during two years, he had considered himself a permanent inhabitant, and with which he must have identified himself from the moment that he settled in it, in the belief that it was for life. It was easy for him to feel a real interest in the cause of the colonies, and a real indignation at wrongs that were any thing but imaginary. The humbleness of his social position in Britain could have given him little sympathy with an aristocratic

government, wielded by the privileged and the rich for their own interests, and in opposition to the interests of the class to which he belonged. He might, as a conscientious Briton, have sided with his fellow subjects of the colonies, on the abstract question in which he believed them to be right, in their struggle against oppression. A colonist himself of two years' standing, attached, moreover, to the country from the very early period when he had first visited it, then less than thirteen years old, his adhesion to the cause of America became not only justifiable, but obvious. There may, however, have existed a belief in his own mind, that some of his family and friends at home might be led, by the bias of their feelings in a contrary direction, to disapprove of the step he had taken. Perhaps it was to spare the feelings of these, that he about this time assumed the name of Jones; for which he himself gives no reason, and which may well be accounted for in this way; or, what is perhaps more likely, he may have dreaded being recognised as a born Briton, in case of capture in arms against his native country.

Though the Revolution found Jones in poverty, it does not necessarily follow that the offer, which he almost immediately made to Congress, to serve in the navy, was in any great measure due to his immediate want of profitable employment. There was little in the condition of our national finances, to excite the cupidity of office-seekers; and the privateers which were fitted out from the commencement of the Revolution, to cruise against British commerce, afforded the prospect of much greater gain. Jones was probably impelled by far nobler motives; enthusiasm in the cause of America, a spirit of adventure, and a chivalrous longing for glory.

Fortunately Jones's tender of his services was accepted, and he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the navy, on the 22d of December, 1775, by the following resolution; "Resolved, that the following naval officers be appointed: E. Hopkins, Esquire, commander-in-chief of the fleet. Dudley Saltonstall, captain of the *Alfred*; Abraham Whipple, captain of the *Columbus*; Nicholas Biddle, captain of the *Andrew Doria*; John B. Hopkins, captain

of the *Cabot*. First lieutenants, John Paul Jones, Rhodes Arnold, — Stansbury, Hersted Hacker, Jonathan Pitcher. Second lieutenants, Benjamin Seabury, Joseph Olney, Elisha Warner, Thomas Weaver, — McDougall. Third lieutenants, John Fanning, Ezekiel Burroughs, Daniel Vaughan." A resolution was also passed, for equipping thirteen frigates, and in the mean time a few vessels were purchased from the merchant service, and fitted out in the Delaware. They consisted of the *Alfred*, of thirty guns and three hundred men; *Columbus*, of twenty-eight guns and three hundred men; *Andrew Doria*, of sixteen guns and two hundred men; *Cabot*, of fourteen guns and two hundred men; *Providence*, of twelve guns; *Hornet*, of ten; *Wasp*, of eight; and the despatch vessel *Fly*. Jones was appointed first lieutenant of the *Alfred* flag-ship; and, when the commander-in-chief came on board of her, Jones hoisted the American flag with his own hands, being the first time it was ever displayed. The exact appearance of this flag is not known, though it is believed to have represented a pine tree, with a rattle-

snake coiled at its root, as if about to strike. Our present national standard was not adopted until nearly two years later. Jones had been offered the command of the sloop *Providence*, which he declined ; because, as he says, he had never sailed in a sloop, and considered that rank the most acceptable, in which he could be most useful in a moment of public calamity.

At this time Jones was in the twenty-ninth year of his age. His health was excellent, his figure light, graceful, and active, and he was capable of enduring great fatigue. His countenance was thoughtful, melancholy, and somewhat stern in its expression, and his air decidedly officer-like. He must necessarily have been a skilful and dashing seaman ; for, having raised himself by merit alone, without other friends than it procured him, to the responsible situation of chief mate of a slaver at the early age of nineteen, and to the command of a merchant ship when barely twenty-one, his qualifications as a seaman must have been of a high order. His familiarity, too, with armed vessels, and the command of numerous

crews, must have furnished him with all the information essential to the management and discipline of a man-of-war, whilst his naturally lofty and chivalrous character eminently fitted him to assume at once the bearing of an officer. Could Jones's character have been penetrated and comprehended at the first, and he placed at the head of our navy, there can be little doubt that it would at once have assumed a tone and order to which it was long a stranger, and, while commending itself to the gratitude of the country by the achievement of glorious deeds, would have greatly accelerated the events which led to the recognition of our independence.

CHAPTER II.

Departure of First American Squadron. — Destined against New Providence. — Capture of the Island. — Squadron returns. — Engagement with the Glasgow. — Jones Appointed to command the Providence. — Engaged in Convoying. — Cruise to Nova Scotia. — Narrow Escapes. — Destruction of Fisheries. — Commands a Squadron. — Expedition against Cape Breton. — Is superseded in his Rank. — Deprived of Command. — His Ideas on Naval Organization. — Is ordered to proceed to Europe, to take Command of a heavy Ship. — Letter from the Marine Committee. — Appointed to the Ranger. — Sails for France. — Arrives at Nantes.

THIS first squadron fitted out during the revolutionary war was originally intended to act against Lord Dunmore, who was ravaging the shores of Virginia. The Delaware having, however, been frozen up before it could get to sea, its destination was changed; and, when it finally sailed, on the 17th of February, 1776, the course was shaped for the Bahama Islands. Jones's narrative of this expedition, contained in the journal drawn up by him for Louis the Sixteenth, and read by that unfortunate monarch, shortly before his execution, furnishes the best account of it extant. We shall accordingly follow it very closely.

On the 1st of March, the squadron anchored at Abaco, carrying in with it two sloops belonging to New Providence, which it had just captured. From persons on board these vessels, information was obtained, that the fortifications of New Providence could easily be taken, and that they contained a large supply of munitions of war. An expedition was accordingly determined on against that island.

A plan was formed, to embark the marines on board the two sloops, keeping the men below until the vessels had anchored in the harbour, close to the forts, when the marines were to land, and take possession. As there was no force in the island capable of opposing them, the plan seemed likely to succeed; in which case all the public stores would have been secured, and a considerable contribution might have been obtained, as a ransom for the town. But the whole squadron very injudiciously appeared off the harbour in the morning, instead of remaining out of sight till after the sloops had entered; the alarm being given, it was impossible for the sloops to attempt crossing the bar. The commander-in-

chief proposed to land at the west end of the island, endeavour to march the marines up, and attack the town on the land side; but Jones, on being consulted, suggested that this could not be effected, as the islanders would have time to collect, and there was no fit anchorage for the squadron, nor road from that part of the island to the town. Jones had learned from the pilots that there was anchorage under a key, three leagues to windward of the harbour, and now acquainted the commander-in-chief with the fact. Hopkins having objected to confiding in the pilots, Jones personally undertook to carry the *Alfred* safely in. Taking the pilot to the fore-topmast head, from whence every danger was clearly seen, he carried the squadron in without accident. The marines were immediately sent in by the east passage, with two vessels to cover their landing. The inhabitants immediately abandoned the forts. In the course of the night, the governor, finding he must surrender the island, embarked all the powder in two vessels, and sent them away. Jones says this was foreseen, and might have been

prevented by sending the two brigantines to lie off the bar. The squadron entered the harbour of New Providence the following morning, being the 17th of March, and sailed the same day, carrying away near a hundred cannon, and other military stores, together with the governor.

In the night of the 6th of April, the squadron fell in with the British ship *Glasgow*, of twenty guns, off Block Island. After a running engagement of several hours, in which, notwithstanding the great collective superiority of our squadron, it suffered more than the enemy's single ship, the *Glasgow* got away, and the American squadron ran into New London. This action shows conclusively, not only the inefficient character of these our first ships of war, taken from the merchant service and hastily equipped, but also the total unfitness of most of the commanders. On this occasion, Jones commanded the lower battery of the *Alfred*, and did his duty bravely. Had he been on the quarter-deck, which is now the station of the first lieutenant, there can be no doubt that the *Glasgow* would have been captured.

One of the results of this inglorious action was the dismissal of Captain Hazard, of the *Providence* sloop, from the navy, for having failed to do his duty. Jones was ordered to take his place. The *Providence* mounted twelve long fours, and had a crew of seventy men. After being engaged for several months in convoying along the coast between Boston and the Delaware, in which Jones showed great coolness and seamanship in avoiding the enemy's cruisers, he was ordered out on a six weeks' cruise against the enemy's commerce. In this vessel Jones put to sea from the Delaware, on the 21st of August, and stood to the eastward. On the 1st of September, near the latitude of Bermuda, he chased a large ship, under the belief that it was a merchantman; on a nearer approach, the ship was seen to be a frigate, afterwards known to be the *Solebay*. After a chase of four hours by the wind, with a heavy sea, the *Solebay* had got within musket-shot, on the lee quarter of the *Providence*, keeping up a fire with her bow chasers, which Jones returned with his light guns, his colors being kept flying. Capture seemed inevita-

ble ; but Jones had no thought of yielding while a single expedient remained untried. He had gradually edged away, until he had brought the *Solebay* on his weather quarter, when, putting his helm suddenly up, he stood dead before the wind, setting all his light sails together. This manœuvre brought the vessels within pistol-shot ; but, before the *Solebay* could imitate it, the *Providence* had got a considerable start, and, sailing better than the *Solebay* with the wind aft, she escaped. Jones subsequently had an encounter with the British frigate *Milford*, off the Isle of Sable, from which he escaped with equal success, and some little display of bravado. He was lying to, in order to allow his men to fish, when the *Milford* was first seen. He made sail to try his speed, and, finding he had the advantage, shortened sail again, to let the *Milford* approach near enough to waste her ammunition. The ship, as he expected, kept up her fire at a great distance, occasionally rounding to and discharging her broadside. "He excited my contempt so much," says Paul Jones, in his report of the cruise to the

Marine Committee, "by his continued firing, at more than twice the proper distance, that when he rounded to, to give his broadside, I ordered my marine officer to return the salute with only a single musket." On the following day he entered the harbour of Canso, where he broke up the fishery, and the day after sailed for the island of Madam. Here he made two descents, and destroyed the shipping. After these successful enterprises he returned to Newport, having made sixteen prizes, during a cruise of forty-seven days.

At Jones's suggestion, an expedition was now fitted out, and placed under his command, to capture the coal fleet and break up the fishery at Cape Breton, as well as to liberate about a hundred Americans, said to be confined at hard labor in the mines. Jones sailed on the 2d of November on this service, in the *Alfred*, having the *Providence* also under his command. Off Louisburg he took a brig, with a valuable cargo of dry goods, a scow laden with fish, and an armed ship called the *Mellish*, bound to Canada, with a cargo of clothing for the troops. The

day after this capture, Jones says that his consort, the *Providence*, Captain Hacker, ran away from him, and left him to prosecute the expedition. He remarks that the runaway made shift to get into Newport a day or two before it was taken. Touching again at Canso, Jones destroyed a transport which was lying in the harbour, burnt a warehouse of oil, and buildings connected with the fisheries. Off Louisburg, during a fog, he captured three coal vessels, which were under convoy, and, two days later, a Liverpool letter of marque. Finding the harbour adjacent to the coal mines frozen up, having one hundred and fifty prisoners on board the *Alfred*, and being, moreover, short of water and provisions, he abandoned the further prosecution of his enterprise, and shaped his course homeward, with five prizes under convoy. On the 7th of December, he again fell in with the *Milford*, on St. George's Bank, which gave chase to him, and captured one of his prizes. Jones got into Boston on the 15th of December. The *Mellish* arrived safely at Dartmouth, and the clothing with which she was

laden was of incalculable use to the army under Washington, which was at this inclement season of the year in a very destitute condition.

The reward which awaited Jones on his arrival, for these faithful and important services, was, to be superseded in the command of the *Alfred*, by Captain Hinman, and be ordered back to the *Providence*. He was obliged not only to submit to this indignity, but to find himself placed eighteenth on the list of captains, whereas, in the original appointment of officers in the navy, he stood sixth from the head of the list ; he being then the senior lieutenant of the navy. He subsequently received a commission as captain, dated the 8th of August, 1776, and, on the 10th day of October following, a new list of captains was made out, many on the list having been commissioned only on that day, and yet placed above him. This grievous injustice to Jones, which, notwithstanding the splendor of his subsequent achievements, was never redressed, was a perpetual source of annoyance to him. He was true to himself in

never acquiescing in it, and returned, after a lapse of years, to bring forward arguments in favor of his seniority, which could not be answered, though they produced no effect. Long after the injustice had been done, he thus expresses himself on the subject. "I was superseded in favor of thirteen persons, two of whom were my junior lieutenants at the beginning; the rest were only commissioned into the Continental navy on that day; and, if they had any superior abilities, these were not then known, nor have since been proved. I am the oldest sea-officer, except Captain Whipple, on the journal and under the commission of Congress, remaining in the service. In the year 1775, when the navy was established, some of the gentlemen by whom I was superseded were applied to, to embark in the first expedition; but they declined. Captain Whipple has often and lately told me, that they said to him, they did not choose to be hanged." He afterwards adds; "It has been said, with a degree of contempt, by some of the gentlemen who came into the navy the second year of the war, that I was

only a lieutenant at the beginning ; and pray what were they, when I was out on the ocean in that character ?” He seems, indeed, to have clung with the feeling of a true hero to the sacredness of that “rank” which, in his own noble and comprehensive expression, “opens the door to glory.” It was a similiar injustice to this, which, operating on the less honorable mind of Arnold, first excited that spirit of discontent, which, encouraged by other causes, at length ripened into treason.

Jones was superseded in the command of the *Alfred* on the 14th of January, 1777, by an order from Commodore Hopkins, the commander-in-chief of the navy, and in consequence, probably, of his remonstrances on this account, and on account of being superseded in his rank, he received an order from the vice-president of the Marine Committee of Congress, dated the 5th of February following, to undertake an expedition against Pensacola and other places, having under his command the *Alfred*, *Columbus*, *Cabot*, *Hampden*, and *Providence*. Owing, however, to some want of formality, or the irregularity

with which every thing was conducted, and in some measure, perhaps, to the mean jealousy of the inefficient Commodore, he affected to disbelieve the reality of Jones's appointment, and refused to recognise it.

In order to elucidate this strange transaction, and to seek redress of the injustice which had been done him with regard to his rank, Jones made a visit to Philadelphia. The only result of his exertions, with regard to the proposed expedition against Pensacola, was, that it was wholly abandoned; and, with regard to the restoration of his rank, his efforts were equally unavailing. It seemed that, both as to the command of the best ships, and to a favorable position on the navy list, the recommendation of the provinces, especially those in which the new frigates were building, in favor of citizens of influential families, was of far greater weight than the length, value, and priority of Jones's service. The circumstance of his having been born a foreigner probably operated against him. Still the Marine Committee did him the justice to express regret, that they had not a good ship vacant

for him to command; and, soon after, three ships were ordered to be purchased in Boston, and Jones was specially authorized, by a resolution of Congress, to choose the best of them, "until better provision could be made for him." He was now ordered to Boston, to make his selection and fit out his ship. Perhaps the Marine Committee were not unwilling, while doing tardy justice to Paul Jones, to be also rid of his importunities; for, in his strong desire to be employed, and in the road to honorable distinction, he followed every one in authority closely up, both by correspondence and by personal solicitation.

His letters of this period are full of enlightened views on the subject of naval organization; and such of them as were not adopted at the time, a mature experience has forced upon the country, as necessary measures of improvement. To Robert Morris, a member of the Marine Committee, and the early, steadfast, and enlightened friend of Jones, he thus, at various times, addressed himself. "As the regulations of the navy are of the utmost consequence, you will not think it presumptuous,

if, with the utmost diffidence, I venture to communicate to you such hints as, in my judgment, will promote its honor and good government. I could heartily wish that every commissioned officer were to be previously examined ; for, to my certain knowledge, there are persons who have already crept into commission without abilities or fit qualifications ; I am myself far from desiring to be excused. From experience in ours, as well as from my former intimacy with many officers of note in the British navy, I am convinced that the parity of rank between sea and land or marine officers, is of more consequence to the harmony of the sea service than has generally been imagined. In the British establishment, an admiral ranks with a general, a vice-admiral with a lieutenant-general, a rear-admiral with a major-general, a commodore with a brigadier-general, a captain with a colonel, a master and commander with a lieutenant-colonel, a lieutenant commanding with a major, and a lieutenant in the navy with a captain of horse, foot, or marines. I propose not our enemies as an example for our general imitation ; yet,

as their navy is the best regulated of any in the world, we must, in some degree, imitate them, and aim at such further improvement as may one day make ours vie with and exceed theirs."

With regard to the difficulty of recruiting seamen, many of whom had entered the army at the breaking out of the war, and more had engaged in privateering, he says; "It is to the last degree distressing to contemplate the state and establishment of our navy. The common class of mankind are actuated by no nobler principle than that of self-interest; this, and this alone, determines all adventurers in privateers; the owners, as well as those whom they employ. And while this is the case, unless the private emolument of individuals in our navy is made superior to that in privateers, it can never become respectable; it never will become formidable. And without a respectable navy—alas! America. In the present critical situation of affairs, human wisdom can suggest no more than one infallible expedient; enlist the seamen during pleasure, and give them all the prizes. What is the paltry emol-

ument of two thirds of prizes to the finances of this vast continent. If so poor a resource is essential to its independency, in sober sadness we are involved in a woful predicament, and our ruin is fast approaching. The situation of America is new in the annals of mankind; her affairs cry haste, and speed must answer them. Trifles, therefore, ought to be wholly disregarded, as being, in the old vulgar proverb, penny wise and pound foolish. If our enemies, with the best establishment and most formidable navy in the universe, have found it expedient to assign all prizes to the captors, how much more is such policy essential to our infant fleet; but I need use no arguments to convince you of the necessity of making the emoluments of our navy equal, if not superior, to theirs. We have had proof that a navy may be officered on almost any terms, but we are not so sure that these officers are equal to their commissions; nor will the Congress ever obtain such certainty, until they, in their wisdom, see proper to appoint a board of admiralty, competent to determine impartially the respective merits and abilities

of their officers, and to superintend, regulate, and point out, all the motions and operations of the navy."

In another letter, also to Robert Morris, he says, "There are no officers more immediately wanted in the marine department, than commissioners of dock-yards, to superintend the building and outfits of all ships of war; with power to appoint deputies, to provide, and have in constant readiness, sufficient quantities of provisions, stores, and slops, so that the small number of ships we have may be constantly employed, and not continue idle, as they do at present. Besides all the advantages that would arise from such appointments, the saving which would accrue to the continent is worth attending to. Had such men been appointed at the first, the new ships might have been at sea long ago. The difficulty now lies in finding men who are deserving, and who are fitly qualified for an office of such importance."

These wise suggestions of Jones are the more creditable to him, from having been made when he was as yet a naval officer of

little more than a year's standing. They are characterized throughout by a sound and discriminating judgment and practical good sense. The best commendation that can be passed upon them is the fact, that Congress soon after adopted most of them, by establishing a parity of rank between the navy and army, on the basis proposed by Jones, in which provision was made for the assimilated rank of admirals, vice-admirals, and rear-admirals, though, unfortunately for the efficiency of the service, no appointments to fill those grades have ever been made ; and by increasing the portion of prizes to be assigned to captors, so as to give them one half of merchantmen, transports, and store-ships, and the whole value of men-of-war and privateers, taken from the enemy. The other suggestions of Jones, with regard to the organization of dock-yards, the examination of officers before promotion, and the increase of the term of enlistment of seamen, have gradually been acted upon ; and the only matter of regret is, that these things should have been so long delayed.

About the same time, Paul Jones addressed a letter to a former friend in the island of Tobago, which furnishes some insight into his private affairs, and is interesting, as it affords a gratifying evidence of his affectionate regard for his family. He forwarded a power of attorney to his friend, and a statement of some unsettled accounts which he had left, when he removed to Virginia, earnestly requesting him to transmit whatever balance should remain on closing his accounts, (and he apprehended there would be a considerable one,) to his mother in Scotland, for her support, and that of some of her orphan grandchildren.

While Paul Jones was waiting at Boston, for the purchase of the three ships of which he was to have the choice, he received an honorable proof of the favorable opinion of Congress, in being ordered to proceed to France in the French merchant ship *Amphitrite*, and to carry out officers and seamen, in order to take command of a heavy ship, to be purchased for him on his arrival in Europe. The following letter from the Marine Committee of Congress, to the American Commission-

ers at Paris, was transmitted to Jones, together with his order to take passage in the *Amphitrite*.

“ Philadelphia, 9 May, 1777.

“ Honorable Gentlemen,

“ This letter is intended to be delivered to you by John Paul Jones, Esquire, an active and brave commander in our navy, who has already performed signal services in vessels of little force ; and, in reward for his zeal, we have directed him to go on board the *Amphitrite*, a French ship of twenty guns, that brought in a valuable cargo of stores from Messrs. Hortalez & Co.,* and with her to repair to France. He takes with him his commission, and some officers and men, so that we hope he will, under that sanction, make some good prizes with the *Amphitrite* ; but our design of sending him is, with the approbation of Congress, that you may purchase one of those fine frigates that Mr. Deane writes us you can get, and invest him with the command thereof as soon as possible. We hope

* A fictitious house, under the name of which the Commissioners sent out military stores.

you may not delay this business one moment, but purchase, in such port or place in Europe as it can be done with most convenience and despatch, a fine, fast-sailing frigate, or larger ship. Direct Captain Jones where he must repair to, and he will take with him his officers and men towards manning her. You will assign him some good house or agent, to supply him with every thing necessary to get the ship speedily and well equipped and manned; somebody that will bestir himself vigorously in the business, and never quit it until it is accomplished.

“If you have any plan or service to be performed in Europe by such a ship, that you think will be more for the interest and honor of the States, than sending her out directly, Captain Jones is instructed to obey your orders; and, to save repetition, let him lay before you the instructions we have given him, and furnish you with a copy thereof. You can then judge what will be necessary for you to direct him in; and whatever you do will be approved, as it will undoubtedly tend to promote the public service of this country.

“You see by this step, how much dependence Congress places in your advices; and you must make it a point not to disappoint Captain Jones’s wishes and expectations on this occasion.”

Owing to some difficulty made by the commander of the *Amphitrite*, with regard to receiving Jones and his officers and men on board of his ship, this arrangement fell through; and, in consequence, Congress, on the 14th of June, invested Jones with the command of the *Ranger*, a new ship, built for the service at Portsmouth. His appointment was contained in the following resolutions. “Resolved, that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation. Resolved, that Captain John Paul Jones be appointed to command the ship *Ranger*. Resolved, that William Whipple, Esquire, member of Congress and of the Marine Committee, John Langdon, Esquire, Continental agent, and the said John Paul Jones, be authorized to appoint lieutenants and other com-

missioned and warrant officers, necessary for the said ship; and that blank commissions and warrants be sent them, to be filled up with the names of the persons they appoint, returns whereof to be made to the navy board in the eastern department." Jones immediately commissioned the *Ranger* at Portsmouth, and no doubt was the first to hoist the new flag of the republic on board that ship, as he did the original one, with his own hands, on board the *Alfred*, not quite two years before.

Though great diligence was used by Jones in equipping the *Ranger* for sea, she was not ready to proceed on her destination, until the middle of October. Twenty-six guns had been provided for the ship, but Jones exercised great judgment in mounting only eighteen on her, as he considered, from her size and slight construction, that she would be more serviceable with eighteen than with a greater number. The following extract from his letter to the Marine Committee, dated on the 29th of October, 1777, gives a lively idea of the difficulties he had to contend with, and of the poverty of our resources. "With all my in-

dustry I could not get the single suit of sails completed until the 20th current. Since that time the winds and weather have laid me under the necessity of continuing in port. At this time it blows a very heavy gale from the northeast. The ship with difficulty rides it out, with yards and topmasts struck, and whole cables ahead. When it clears up, I expect the wind from the northwest, and shall not fail to embrace it, although I have not now a spare sail, nor materials to make one. Some of those I have are made of hissings. I never before had so disagreeable service to perform, as that which I have now accomplished, and of which another will claim the credit as well as the profit. However, in doing my utmost, I am sensible that I have done no more than my duty."

Thus imperfectly equipped, having a very good crew, but "only thirty gallons of rum," as Jones laments, for them to drink on the passage, the *Ranger* sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of November, 1777. The ship proved exceedingly crank, and Jones, no doubt, had occasion to congratulate himself

on his judicious forethought in leaving eight of his guns on shore. He made two prizes on his passage, chased a fleet of ten sail, under a strong convoy, without being able to cut any of them out, and arrived safely at Nantes, on the 2d of December, 1777.

He immediately forwarded to the American Commissioners at Paris, the letter from the Marine Committee, of which he was the bearer, and expressed at the same time his great desire to render useful services to the American cause. He gave it as an opinion he had long entertained, that our ships should be employed singly or in small squadrons, on detached services, remote from each other. The field of cruising being thus extended, and perfect secrecy being observed with regard to our projects, he gave it as his opinion, that the enemy had many important places in such a defenceless state, that they might easily be surprised and taken by a small force. "We cannot," he says, "yet fight their navy; as their numbers and force are so far superior to ours. Therefore it seems to be our most natural province, to surprise their defenceless pla-

ces, and thereby divert their attention, and draw it from our own coasts.”

These suggestions contained the plan of annoyance, which was eventually adopted in Paul Jones's cruises in the European seas. While waiting for the instructions of the Commissioners, he employed himself in shortening the lower masts of the *Ranger*, and in altering the stowage of her ballast, so as to increase her stability.

CHAPTER III.

Jones visits Paris. — Transfer of the *Indien* to France. — Submits a Plan for employing the French Fleet. — Returns to Nantes. — Sails for Brest. — Receives the first Salute abroad to the American Flag. — Projects a Cruise. — Sails from Brest. — Enters the Irish Channel. — Makes various Prizes. — Appears off Carrickfergus. — Bold Attempt to board the *Drake*, at Anchor. — Descent on Whitehaven. — Capture of the Forts. — Consternation of the Inhabitants. — Return to the *Ranger*. — Propriety of the *Enterprise*, generally—as undertaken by Jones. — Descent on St. Mary's Isle. — Removal of Lord Selkirk's Plate. — Alarm at Kirkcudbright. — Second Appearance off Carrickfergus. — Engagement with the *Drake*. — Arrest of Lieutenant Simpson. — Arrival at Brest. — Letter to Lady Selkirk. — Restoration of the Plate.

ON the receipt of Paul Jones's letter, the American Commissioners invited him to repair to Paris, for the purpose of consulting with them on the subject of his future employment. On his arrival there, he found that he should be obliged to relinquish the flattering prospect with which he had come to Europe, of being placed in command of the fine frigate *Indien*, then building at Amsterdam for the service of Congress. Owing to the opposition made to the equipment of this ship by the British minister at the Hague, who had discovered the secret of her ownership and desti-

nation, the Commissioners had sold her to France. This was a real misfortune to America, as well as to Jones. He submitted, however, to the disappointment, with as good a grace as his irritability would permit, and returned to Nantes, for the purpose of completing the equipment of the *Ranger*, and making a cruise in her for the annoyance of the British coasts, in conformity with the suggestion contained in his letter to the Commissioners.

It is probable that, while in Paris, he was also consulted, at the request of the French ministry, with regard to the employment of the Count D'Estaing's fleet, France being then on the eve of commencing hostilities against England. At any rate, Jones submitted a written plan for the employment of that fleet, in a letter to Mr. Silas Deane, one of the Commissioners, immediately after his return from Paris to Nantes; which plan he repeatedly asserts to have been the one that was adopted. In his memoir to the King of France, whose recollection must have furnished him with the means of detecting any misstatement with regard to a matter with which

he must necessarily have been acquainted, Jones distinctly says, while speaking of himself in the third person ; “ On receiving agreeable news of affairs in America, and the position of Lord Howe’s fleet, he wrote a letter to Mr. Deane, one of the Commissioners of Congress, at Paris, containing the plan that was adopted ; which would have ended the war, had it been immediately pursued.” In a subsequent letter to the French Minister of Marine, who must also have been familiar with the facts, he thus repeats the claim ; “ Had Count D’Estaing arrived in the Delaware a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many successful projects may be adopted from the hints which I had the honor to draw up ; and, if I can still furnish more, or execute any of those already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest pleasure.” The plan for the employment of D’Estaing proposed that he should fall suddenly upon the British fleet under Lord Howe, which was of inferior force, and destroy it, or at least block it up in the Delaware, together

with the transports and victuallers under its convoy. Shortly before D'Estaing appeared, Lord Howe succeeded in placing the fleet in security. Nothing is more likely than that Jones should indeed have been the author of this project. He was familiar with the situation of affairs in America, from which he had just arrived, and was moreover eminently fitted by his qualities of mind and character to shape out a bold and ingenious plan of naval enterprise.*

From Nantes, Jones proceeded in the *Ranger* to Quiberon bay, giving convoy to some American vessels which were desirous of joining the convoy of the French fleet, commanded by Admiral La Motte Piquet, who had been ordered to keep the coast of France clear of British cruisers. From this admiral he succeeded, after some correspondence and the exhibition of considerable address, in obtaining the promise of having his salute returned. Writing to the Marine Committee, on the 22d of February, 1778, he thus speaks of this affair.

* See note at the end of Vol. II.

“I am happy in having it in my power to congratulate you on my having seen the American flag, for the first time, recognised in the fullest and completest manner, by the flag of France. I was off their bay the 13th instant, and sent my boat in the next day, to know if the admiral would return my salute. He answered, that he would return to me, as the senior American Continental officer in Europe, the same salute which he was authorized by his Court to return to an admiral of Holland, or any other republic, which was four guns less than the salute given. I hesitated at this ; for I had demanded gun for gun. Therefore, I anchored in the entrance of the bay, at a distance from the French fleet ; but, after a very particular inquiry on the 14th, finding that he had really told the truth, I was induced to accept of his offer, the more so, as it was in fact an acknowledgment of American independence. The wind being contrary and blowing hard, it was after sunset before the *Ranger* got near enough to salute La Motte Piquet with thirteen guns, which he returned with nine. However, to put the matter beyond a doubt, I did not suf-

fer the *Independence* to salute till next morning, when I sent the admiral word that I would sail through his fleet in the brig, and would salute him in open day. He was exceedingly pleased, and he returned the compliment also with nine guns."

This brig *Independence* was probably a privateer, which had placed itself temporarily under Jones's orders. His sailing in her through the French fleet was a very characteristic trait. It was his plan to do every thing with proper ceremony. Nor was this interchange of courtesy a matter of inferior importance at that time; though now America, republic though she be, salutes no foreign flag, without receiving gun for gun. Paul Jones had thus the singular honor of being the first to hoist the original flag of liberty on board the *Alfred*, first, probably, to hoist the flag, which, after more than half a century, still waves in pride as our national emblem, and first to claim for it from foreigners the courtesy due to a sovereign state.

In the sequel of the letter last quoted, Jones gives us the following insight into his views.

“I have in contemplation several enterprises of some importance. When an enemy thinks a design against him improbable, he can always be surprised and attacked with advantage. It is true, I must run great risk ; but no gallant action was ever performed without danger. Therefore, though I cannot insure success, I will endeavour to deserve it.” In fulfilment of these views, he put to sea in the *Ranger* from Brest, on the 10th of April. On the 14th he took a brigantine between Scilly and Cape Clear. She had a cargo of flaxseed, and was bound to Ireland. Having burned her, he ran into the Irish Channel. On the 17th he took a ship bound from London to Dublin, with a cargo of porter and other goods ; this ship he manned and ordered to Brest. On the following evening, the *Ranger* was off the Isle of Man. The wind was fair for Whitehaven, and Jones determined to stand for that place, in order to execute a project, which he had formed, to attack the town and burn the shipping, and thus, as he said, “to put an end, by one good fire, in England, of shipping, to all the burnings in

America." At ten o'clock he was off the harbour, and had his boats ready to start; but, before they had left the ship, the wind shifted and commenced blowing fresh directly on shore, accompanied by a heavy sea. The expedition was necessarily abandoned for the present, and Jones was even obliged to carry sail heavily on his ship, in order to keep her clear of the land.

On the morning of the 19th, being off the Mull of Galloway, he learned from a schooner, which he captured and sunk, that there were ten or twelve sail of merchantmen, besides a king's tender with a number of impressed seamen on board, at anchor in Lochvyau, on the Scotch coast. He at once determined to enter and capture them, as the wind was fair both to enter and leave the loch; but, as he was about to put his project into execution, the wind shifted suddenly in a squall, and blew directly in, with an appearance of bad weather, compelling him to give up the enterprise.

On the 20th, the *Ranger* sunk a sloop, and on the following day, being off Carrickfergus,

a fishing boat boarded her, from the crew of which Jones learned that a ship which he saw at anchor in Belfast Loch, was the sloop of war *Drake*, of twenty guns. Jones immediately conceived the bold project of running into the harbour, and overlaying her cable, so as to drop foul of her bow, having her decks open to the *Ranger's* musketry, to cover the boarders. As the night came on, the ship was cleared for action, the grapnels were triced up to the yard-arms, ready for falling on the enemy's decks, to secure her in case she should cut her cable, and the boarders prepared for service. One of the fishermen was compelled to act as pilot, and all lights were carefully concealed, to prevent the discovery of the *Ranger's* guns, and other evidences of her warlike character and intentions. It blew fresh, and, as the ship rounded to on the *Drake's* bow, the anchor was not let go at the order, but hung for a minute or two. During this interval, the *Ranger* drifted by the *Drake*, and brought up on her quarter, at half a cable's length distance, instead of on her bow. The enterprise of course failed; but, as every thing

had been managed quietly, and as if the *Ranger* had been a merchantman, no alarm was given on board of the *Drake*. Moreover, his Majesty's ships were not perhaps prepared for such hardihood in their own ports. Jones determined, therefore, to cut immediately, making it appear as if his cable had parted, and, after making a stretch or two out of the loch, to return and repeat his hardy enterprise. The wind, however, which so often interferes with projects of this nature, freshened rapidly, and soon blew a gale, so that the *Ranger* was barely able, by carrying a press of sail, to work out of the loch. The gale continuing afterwards to increase, and bringing on a heavy sea, Jones took shelter under the south coast of Scotland.

The following morning, being the 22d, was fair and mild, though the whole extent of the three kingdoms was seen to be covered with snow. Paul Jones determined now to make another effort to accomplish his projected attack on Whitehaven. The lightness of the wind, however, prevented him from approaching the town so as to leave his ship at so early

an hour as he had wished. It was only at midnight that he got away from the *Ranger*, with two boats, provided with combustibles, and containing thirty-one officers and men, all of them being volunteers. He commanded the first-boat himself, and placed the other under the orders of Lieutenant Wallingsford. The tide was running ebb ; so that, by the time the boats reached the outer pier, the day had dawned. Nevertheless, Jones was determined not to abandon the enterprise. He therefore directed Lieutenant Wallingsford to set fire to the ships on the north side of the harbour, while he charged himself with the task of destroying the rest.

Jones estimated the number of ships on the north side of the port to amount to from seventy to one hundred large ships, whilst as many as one hundred and fifty others, chiefly of from two to four hundred tons, lay on the other side. The two docks were only divided from each other by a stone pier. All the ships were aground, and there was no water alongside of them, to facilitate extinguishing the flames. The port was commanded by a

couple of batteries, mounting thirty pieces of artillery. Paul Jones personally charged himself with the task of securing these ; he scaled the breastwork of that which stood nearest to the pier, made prisoners of the soldiers whom he found, the sentry included, very snug in the guard-house, and spiked the guns ; and, having posted sentinels and left the bulk of his party to fire the shipping, he went, attended by a single follower, to a fort which lay a quarter of a mile off, the guns of which he also spiked. His object in doing this was to secure a harmless retreat for his party, when the inhabitants should awake from their panic.

As Paul Jones returned towards the port, he was disappointed at not seeing the fire from the ships on the north side of the port. At the pier Jones met Lieutenant Wallingsford, who had returned without setting fire to the ships in the north basin. He stated, that his light had gone out as he was about to use it ; and seemed, moreover, to dislike the service on which he had been sent. He said, that "nothing could be gained by burning poor people's property." To Jones's great

annoyance, he found that his own immediate party, which he had left with directions to fire the shipping in the south basin, had been equally inactive during his absence. In consequence of the late hour to which the expedition had been delayed, their candles had also burnt out. The day, moreover, was beginning to dawn, and the inhabitants to assemble in alarm. Still, Jones was unwilling to depart without effecting any thing, after all the most serious difficulties had been overcome. He again posted the sentinels which he had called in, to be ready to depart, obtained a light from a neighbouring house, and deliberately kindled a fire in the steerage of a large ship, which was surrounded by many others, all lying high and dry ashore.

The lateness of the hour, for the sun had now risen, and the assembling of the startled inhabitants, left no time to kindle fires in other ships, but Paul Jones was determined that the one which he had lighted, should not be easily extinguished. He caused search to be made among the vessels for a barrel of tar, which he emptied into the flames, which soon

blazed up the hatchway and spread to the spars and rigging. The inhabitants began now to appear in great numbers, and, attracted by the flames, to run towards the pier. Paul Jones stood between them and the ship on fire, with a pistol in his hand, and ordered them to retire, which he says they did, with precipitation. The sun was now an hour high, and it became necessary to bring this daring enterprise to a close. There being no spare space in the boats, the captured soldiers were released, with the exception of three, whom Jones said he "brought away for a sample," and the party reëmbarked. Jones stood for a moment alone on the pier, contemplating with no little pride and exultation the terror and awe with which he had impressed the inhabitants of this considerable town, who stood gazing on him, with stupid and panic-stricken wonder, from the surrounding eminences.

At length he entered his boat, and rowed quietly out of the harbour. The inhabitants were presently seen running in vast numbers to their forts, and of course found no means of

venting their rage, to the great amusement of Jones, who had himself spiked the guns. Not long after, however, they began to fire, from what Jones supposed to be some ship guns. But the shot fell short, and the direction was so ridiculously wild, that the sailors amused themselves by firing back with their pistols. Jones now discovered that one of his men had been left behind, and expressed a fear in his report, that he had fallen into the hands of the enemy. It afterwards appeared, that this man, who was borne on the *Ranger's* books as David Smith, but who was known in Whitehaven as David Freeman, had not only voluntarily abandoned his party, but gave information, in various houses in the neighbourhood of the piers, of the character and object of the expedition. In consequence of the statement made by this man, whom the newspaper of the day pronounced the saviour of Whitehaven, the inhabitants so far recovered their presence of mind, as to rally for the preservation of the shipping, of which only the ship fired by Paul Jones was probably destroyed. He was sadly disappointed at the result, after his plan had

been so well matured, and had so far succeeded. He was well justified in drawing the conclusion, in his written report of what had happened, that, if he had got on shore a few hours sooner, his success would have been complete ; that not a single ship out of more than two hundred, nor even the town itself, could probably have escaped. He consoled himself as best he could, with the reflection, that enough had been done to show the English, "that not all their boasted navy could protect their own coasts, and that the scenes of distress, which they have occasioned in America, might soon be brought home to their own doors." Even with the disadvantage of having arrived at the pier of Whitehaven at so late an hour, Jones was under the impression that he should still have succeeded, but for the scruples of the "wise officer," to whom he had intrusted the service of firing the ships in the north basin, and who had entertained him with the ill-timed moralizing as to the inexpediency of "burning poor people's property." As poor Wallingsford, the "wise officer" alluded to, fell in battle the following day, it

would have been generous in Jones to have spared his sarcasm, and, while dispensing merited censure for disobedience of orders, to have stated that Wallingsford's fault was nobly redeemed by his dying in defence of his country. It is creditable to Jones's humanity, that he mentions, as a gratifying circumstance, that in the course of this well contrived and most coolly executed service, not one of his own men or of the enemy was either killed or wounded.

Few naval enterprises exhibit a character of greater daring and originality than this descent on Whitehaven. The hardihood with which it was conceived, and the imperturbable coolness with which it was executed, cannot be surpassed. As to the propriety of attempting to destroy such an amount of private property, it was amply justified, as it was provoked and occasioned, by the burnings and devastations of the British on our own coasts. Still the author cannot coincide with such of his countrymen as have commended Jones for volunteering to be the agent of this retribution. The scheme was wholly his own; he

selected the scene, choosing for the purpose the familiar haunts of his boyhood and maturer years. Had he succeeded in his wish of destroying the whole shipping of the port of Whitehaven, out of which he had so long sailed, where he had obtained promotion, and necessarily received kindness, he must have involved shipmates, employers, and benefactors in one common ruin. He had a mother and sisters living in security in the neighbourhood, whose position must have been prejudiced by such wholesale desolation, perpetrated by a son and brother. It cannot be forgotten, that Paul Jones had continued his associations with his home and family, until long after he arrived at manhood; his connexion with America was only of five years' standing, whilst it was less than three since he took up arms in behalf of the colonies. Under these circumstances, his boasted "principles of philanthropy," and desire to support "the dignity of human nature," hardly justify such rancorous hatred of his native land. It has been said, that Paul Jones alone, on account of his familiarity with the localities, could have attempted

this project with any prospect of success. If so, it had better been omitted altogether.

On reaching the *Ranger*, Jones stood over to the Scotch shore, every foot of which in this neighbourhood had been familiar to him from his earliest years. He had conceived the project of endeavouring to get possession of the person of the Earl of Selkirk, who had an estate near Kirkcudbright, on a beautiful wooded promontory, which makes out into the river Dee, about a mile below the town, and is known as St. Mary's Isle. Jones thought that the possession of this nobleman's person might be rendered useful in an exchange for some distinguished American prisoner, and in bringing about a general system of exchanges, to which England had hitherto shown a reluctance.

With this motive Jones now stood boldly into Kirkcudbright bay, and started with a single boat on this extraordinary errand. Landing on St. Mary's Isle, he was informed by some men whom he met as he was proceeding towards the house, that Lord Selkirk was absent from home. According to his own

account, he was about to return to his boat, on hearing this information, but some of his officers expressed a great desire to take away the family plate, in conformity with the universal custom of the English on our coast. Jones seems to have yielded reluctantly to the discontented muttering of his officers, in giving them permission to seize the plate. He did not like the errand, as he did not go upon it himself; and he charged Simpson, his first lieutenant, who accompanied him on this occasion, to perform the service with all possible delicacy. Paul Jones remained on the shore, while Simpson went to the house with the boat's crew, armed with cutlasses and pistols. On reaching the house, they were taken for a press gang, or the crew of a revenue cutter. Lady Selkirk, who happened to be at home, sent a servant to ask their business and offer them refreshment. The first thing, that excited suspicion, was the officers' rejecting the whiskey which was offered to them, and calling for wine. Simpson now went into the house, accompanied by another officer, and stated his errand to Lady Selkirk. The break-

fast things were not yet removed, and the teapot was emptied and sent away, together with the rest of the plate, which the butler busied himself in collecting. No violence or incivility was offered to any one, and the party, having fulfilled its errand, withdrew. Meanwhile Paul Jones strolled under the noble oaks and chestnuts, that adorn St. Mary's Isle, with reflections, which his sudden return among scenes so attractive; where every object was so familiar to him, must have strangely blended with exultation and with pain. That he did not approve of the abstraction of this silver, was afterwards made evident by the earnestness with which he labored for its restoration. When the party arrived at the boat, he regained his ship, and stood out into the channel.

As for the worthy burghers of Kirkcubright, when they heard of the outrage that had been perpetrated in their immediate neighbourhood, nothing could equal their consternation. The town affords no eminence from which a view of the enemy could be obtained, and the danger became all the more terrifying

from being unseen. The people ran hither and thither in search of a place of safety for themselves and their valuables, and were completely at their wits' end. After the consternation had been abated by the arrival of intelligence of the disappearance of the cruiser, the more heroic seized upon a venerable twenty-four pounder, and dragged it down to the beach of St. Mary's Isle. There they watched during the night, until one of the number cried out that he saw the enemy's ship. The gun was pointed and fired, and so kept hotly exercised during the night. When the day dawned, the valiant burghers were overwhelmed with mortification at discovering, that they had been venting their prowess upon an invulnerable rock which stood at no great distance from the land.

On the morning of the 24th of April, Paul Jones was again off Carrickfergus, on the lookout for the *Drake*, which he had the extreme satisfaction to see coming out of the harbour. The wind being light, the *Drake's* boat was sent out ahead to obtain information concerning the *Ranger*, intelligence of her proceed-

ings at Whitehaven and Kirkcudbright having already been received at Belfast. The *Ranger's* stern was kept towards the boat, so as to conceal her character, which so far succeeded, that the boat came within hail without suspicion. On reaching the *Ranger's* deck, the officer of the boat found himself a prisoner. Paul Jones now learned, that, intelligence having been received the evening before from Whitehaven of the *Ranger's* proceedings, the *Drake* was coming in pursuit of her, with a large number of volunteers on board, making her crew amount in all to one hundred and sixty men. Alarm smokes were now seen rising from various points, on both sides of the Channel.

The *Drake* had to encounter a strong tide setting into Belfast Lough, and worked out very slowly. She was accompanied by five small vessels, filled with people, who were desirous of beholding the approaching engagement. As they got nearer the *Ranger*, and the day was closing, they wisely put back without satisfying their curiosity. To bring the matter sooner to an issue, the *Ranger* ran

down towards her antagonist, and hauling up her courses, lay to with her main-topsail to her mast. At length the *Drake* made her last tack, and stretched out of the lough. The *Ranger* now filled away, and ran out into mid-channel, followed by the *Drake*, which now came within hail. Both ships wore their national colors. As the *Drake* came up astern of the *Ranger*, she hailed and asked what ship it was. Paul Jones directed his sailing-master to reply, "The American Continental ship *Ranger!* we are waiting for you! come on!" At this time the sun was little more than an hour high.

Paul Jones now ordered his helm put up, and sheering across the enemy's bow, poured in the first broadside; the fire was returned with equal energy, so soon as the enemy could imitate the manœuvre, and, as the two ships ran broadside and broadside, was kept up obstinately at close quarters for more than an hour, at the end of which time the *Drake* was very much cut up. Her fore and maintopsail ties were shot away, and the yards came down on the cap; the foretop-gallant yard and miz-

zen gaft hung up and down the masts, her ensign towing overboard astern from the gaft, and her jib-stay was shot away so that the sail hung in the water. Her sails and rigging were much cut up, many of her spars badly wounded, and her hull much shattered. When the action had continued an hour and four minutes, the Captain of the *Drake* received a musket ball in his head, immediately after which the crew called for quarter, and the action ceased. The *Drake* was found to have lost, in killed and wounded, no fewer than forty-two of her company. Captain Burden, her commander, lived, and continued sensible, a few moments after the *Drake* was boarded. The first lieutenant was also severely wounded, and died on the second day after the action. Both were subsequently buried with the honors of war. The loss of the *Ranger* was comparatively very inconsiderable, Lieutenant Wallingsford and one seaman being killed, and six wounded, one of whom afterwards died. The weather being moderate during the night and following day, the business of repairing damages was soon accomplished. Among the

trophies of the victory was the anchor which the *Ranger* had dropped in Belfast Lough, and which the *Drake* had taken up. In estimating the brilliancy of this victory, it is necessary to take into consideration not only that the *Drake* was of superior force to the *Ranger* by two guns, and in a still greater proportion with regard to her crew, but also that the *Drake* belonged to a regularly established navy, whose ships were everywhere accustomed to conquer, whilst the equipping of the *Ranger* was among the earliest efforts of a new and imperfectly organized service. The result was eminently due to the skill and courage of Jones, and his inflexible determination to conquer. This was first, though unsuccessfully, made manifest, in the dashing attempt to carry the *Drake* while at anchor in Belfast Lough, than which few naval conceptions could be more brilliant. It only failed through the anchor's not being let go at the proper instant. The result, however, was but the more glorious to the American arms; as the *Drake* was subsequently compelled to yield after a sanguinary engagement, which

she sought with every possible preparation and confidence of victory, in the presence, too, of the three kingdoms.

Paul Jones had intended returning out of the Irish Sea by St. George's Channel; but, the wind being ahead to run in that direction, he bore up and ran to the northward. In passing the Lough of Belfast he released the fishermen, whom he had detained on his first appearance off the Lough five days before. As their boat had been swamped and lost while in tow of the *Ranger*, he gave them another to reach the shore in, and money to replace whatever they had lost. He also sent with them two infirm persons, taken in one of his prizes, to whom he gave his last guinea to defray their travelling expenses to their home in Dublin. He says, that "the grateful Irishmen were enraptured, and expressed their joy in three huzzas as they passed the *Ranger's* quarter."

The two ships now stood out of the Channel, and rounding the north coast of Ireland, ran down on the western side. Nothing of note happened, until the 5th of May, when,

the *Ranger* being off Ushant, and having the *Drake* in tow, a strange sail was seen, to which, having cut the hawser, Paul Jones gave chase. In the mean time, Lieutenant Simpson, who had been placed in command of the *Drake*, instead of continuing his course towards Brest in conformity with his orders, steered off to the southward, so that when Paul Jones had overhauled the chase, the *Drake* was nearly out of sight. The same eccentric evolutions, having apparently for object to part company with the *Ranger*, continued during the day, to Jones's great annoyance, as it prevented him from chasing many vessels that were seen standing into the Channel, from among which he hoped to have made some valuable prizes. When Jones was at length able to overtake his wandering lieutenant, he placed him under arrest, and conferred the command on Lieutenant Elijah Hall. From this circumstance, and the perverse character of Simpson, Jones was yet destined to derive a great deal of trouble. On the 8th of May, both vessels arrived safely at Brest, on which very day, Paul Jones hastened to indite and

send off triplicate copies of the following romantic epistle to Lady Selkirk, which, as it tells its own tale, and is illustrative of his feelings and character, we will introduce without further commentary.

“Madam, — It cannot be too much lamented, that, in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feelings and real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command, which his heart cannot approve ; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such actions by his authority. This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary’s Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk’s interest with his King, and esteeming as I do his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war. It was perhaps fortunate for you, Madam, that he was from home ; for it was my intention to have taken him on board the *Ranger*, and detained him until, through his means, a general and

fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected.

“ When I was informed, by some men whom I met at landing, that his Lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent, observing that in America no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of movable property, setting fire not only to towns and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milch-cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me the same morning at Whitehaven; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your Ladyship the least injury. I charged the officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt any thing about it; to treat you, Madam, with the utmost respect; to accept of the plate which was offered, and to come away without mak-

ing a search, or demanding any thing else. I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed, since I am informed that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men; and when the plate is sold, I shall become the purchaser, and will gratify my own feelings, by restoring it to you by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

“Had the Earl been on board the *Ranger* the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea engagement; both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back from such scenes of horror, and cannot sufficiently execrate the vile promoters of this detestable war.

‘For they, ’t was they unsheathed the ruthless blade,
And Heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.’

“The British ship of war *Drake*, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, was our opponent. The ships met, and the advantage was disput-

ed with great fortitude on each side for an hour and four minutes, when the gallant commander of the *Drake* fell, and victory declared in favor of the *Ranger*. The amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded; a melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects, and of the sad reverses of fortune, which an hour can produce. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honors due to the memory of the brave.

“Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot secure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war was begun, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from sea service in favor of ‘calm

contemplation and poetic ease.' I have sacrificed not only my favorite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace among mankind.

“As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you, Madam, to use your persuasive art with your husband, to endeavour to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which Britain can never succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practice of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated on Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this, and I am persuaded you will attempt it, (and who can resist the power of such an advocate?) your endeavours to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity, which will afford you golden feelings on your death-bed.

“I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but, should it continue, I wage no war

with the fair. I acknowledge their force, and bend before it with submission. Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy ; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing, consistent with my duty, to merit it. The honor of a line from your hand, in answer to this, will lay me under a singular obligation ; and if I can render you any acceptable service in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me, without the least grain of reserve. I wish to know the exact behaviour of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty."

This is a very odd letter ; but even making all due allowance for the effort at effect, and the desire to touch the "gentle bosom" of his fair correspondent, it is still conceived in a generous and kindly spirit, creditable to the feelings of the writer. In the fulfilment of his promise to return the plate, Jones was destined to encounter a due share of those difficulties and annoyances, which, in small matters as in great, it was his fortune to meet

with, and his pleasure to overcome. The plate having passed into the hands of prize-agents on the arrival of the *Ranger* at Brest, it was rescued with infinite difficulty and delay, and did not eventually reach England until many years afterward, when it was all safely returned in the condition in which it was taken away, even the tea leaves remaining in the tea-pot. Jones made the return of this plate the fertile subject of a voluminous correspondence, having written two more letters to his "amiable Countess," and several to Franklin, the Count of Vergennes, and others whom he found occasion to interest in the subject. He was naturally enough disappointed in the expected "honor of a line from the hand" of the Countess, who responded through her husband. The Earl at first consented to accept the plate, if it were restored by order of Congress, but scrupled to receive it if its restoration were due to the generosity of an individual. These scruples were eventually overcome; the plate was recovered and returned at Jones's expense, and accepted with thanks by the Earl, and a tardy acknowledg-

ment of the courteous behaviour of the *Ranger's* crew when they landed on St. Mary's Isle. This whole matter is strikingly illustrative of Jones's ingenuity in creating difficulties in his own path, and his obstinate energy in overcoming them. The plate was taken by Jones's order, as we see by the letter to the Countess of Selkirk, and not, as Mr. Cooper in his naval history intimates, by an inferior officer on his own responsibility. It was scarcely on board, however, before he began to busy himself about the task of returning it, and at the end of a fortnight we find him writing his letter to the Countess, the ultimate result of which was the restoration of the plate, after an interval of seven or eight years.

CHAPTER IV.

Effect of Jones's Exploits. — His Letter of Credit dishonored. — Difficulties for Want of Money. — Contention with Simpson. — Simpson imprisoned. — Cause of Disagreement. — Care of Prisoners. — Franklin's Views for the Employment of the Ranger. — Jones's Views in Reply. — Asks for the Indien. — Offer of the Indien by the French Government. — Jones proceeds to Paris. — Offers his Services to France. — Project for intercepting the Baltic Fleet. — It fails. — Gives up the Command of the Ranger to Simpson. — Repents having done so. — The Ranger sails for America.

THE *Ranger's* arrival at Brest, from this daring cruise in the Irish Channel, with the *Drake* in company as her prize, and two hundred prisoners, being nearly double the number of her own crew, was greeted with lively demonstrations of joy by the American Commissioners, to whom Paul Jones hastened to make the circumstances known in an able report, in which the events of his cruise were most vividly described. The French Court, which was on the eve of joining our cause, shared heartily in the gratulation which the circumstances were so well suited to awaken. The exploits of Paul Jones had been conceiv-

ed and executed in the highest spirit of naval enterprise, in sight of the three kingdoms, and within the very strong-hold of British power. England was thus taught the wholesome lesson, that her burnings on our coast could be retaliated upon her at home, and that so far from being everywhere supreme upon the seas, her merchant ships were no longer safe within her docks, though protected by the presence of a large population and formidable batteries. Even her men-of-war were liable to be assailed within her own roadsteads, to owe their safety to accident, and finally to be obliged to yield in fair conflict with an inferior force. For these brilliant results, Paul Jones received the commendations which he so richly merited, and to the value of which he was ever sensitively alive. Envidable, however, as his position at this moment might seem, he soon found himself involved in a series of annoying difficulties.

Of these difficulties, the first was the dishonoring of a draft for twenty-four thousand livres, which he had drawn on the Commissioners, for the purpose of refitting and provis-

ioning the *Ranger* and the *Drake*, and supplying the officers and crew with a portion of their arrears of pay. The principal motive of the Commissioners, in dishonoring this draft, was no doubt the straitened condition of the funds intrusted to them; nor had they authorized Jones to draw for so large an amount. He complained bitterly of this treatment, inasmuch as he had not made use of the letter of credit, given to him several months before, for half the sum which he now drew for. He also considered the grievance augmented by the fact of his being fifteen hundred pounds in advance to the government, for the payment of the crews of the *Alfred* and the *Providence*, before he left America. This fact was known to Mr. Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners, but not to the other two. At any rate, they had no funds for the payment of such a balance, and Jones would have done better to have first drawn for the sum which he had credit for, and then waited until the credit could be extended. He must have known enough of the financial difficulties of Congress, and of the Commissioners, to have put him on his

guard against calling on them too suddenly for the payment of any considerable sum.

Whether Jones were censurable or not in this transaction, it involved him in great trouble. In speaking of his position at this moment, he said, "I was left, with two hundred prisoners of war, a number of sick and wounded, an almost naked crew, and a ship, after a severe engagement, in want of stores and provisions, from the 9th of May till the 13th of June, destitute of any public support." In writing to the Commissioners, he thus describes the emergency in which he was placed; "I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths that depend on me for food. Are the Continental ships of war to depend on the sale of their prizes for a daily dinner to their men? Publish it not in Gath!" How he extricated himself from this painful dilemma may be gathered from the following passage of his Journal for the King; "Yet during that time, by his personal credit with Count D'Orvilliers, the Duke de Chartres, and the Intendant of Brest, he fed his

people and prisoners, cured his wounded, and refitted both the *Ranger* and *Drake* for sea."

Owing to this want of funds to distribute among the sailors of the *Ranger*, and the delay in realizing the proceeds of their prizes, they became exceedingly discontented. Their discontent, too, was artfully augmented by Lieutenant Simpson, who, as Jones states in his Journal for the King, while under arrest on board the *Drake*, had constant intercourse with the crew, and rendered them so insolent, that they refused duty, and went below repeatedly before the Captain's face. Count D'Orvilliers had assured Paul Jones, that, unless he could get the *Drake* ready to transport the prisoners to America before orders arrived from Court, they would in all probability be given up without an exchange, to avoid immediate war with England. It thus became impossible to suffer Simpson to remain any longer among the crew. He was therefore removed to a ship, in which the French confined their officers when under arrest. Here Simpson had good accommodations, and liberty to walk the deck. Nevertheless he

endeavoured to desert, and behaved so extravagantly, that Count D'Orvilliers, without consulting Jones, ordered him to prison.

This Simpson was a very troublesome person, though it is difficult at this time to say whether the fault lay entirely with him or partly with Jones. It appears that there had been constant disagreement between the commander and his first lieutenant, and the latter was charged with insubordination himself, and with exciting the crew to discontent. Jones relates in his Journal for the *King*, that when he was about to engage the *Drake*, "the lieutenant having held up to the crew, that, being Americans fighting for liberty, the voice of the people should be taken before the Captain's orders were obeyed, they rose in mutiny; and Captain Jones was in the utmost danger of being killed or thrown overboard." This was an offence, which would have justified the commander in putting Simpson to immediate death. Yet Jones nowhere states this circumstance in his report of the cruise for the Commissioners, though he mentions having arrested Lieutenant Simpson for the inferior, though

sufficient offence, of disobeying his orders for keeping company while in command of the *Drake*. It is highly probable that this circumstance never occurred, but was imagined by Jones upon some slight foundation, with the motive, so apparent in all his writings, of giving himself the greater credit for his achievements. He had a voice originally in the selection of all his officers, and was therefore in a measure responsible for the character of Simpson, whose insubordination was doubtless the consequence of injudicious management. It is probable, that the whole difficulty had its origin in Jones's large promises, at the outset, of leaving Simpson in command of the *Ranger* on his arrival in Europe, when he should be transferred to the fine frigate which Congress had authorized the Commissioners in France to purchase for him. Upon the foundation of this order to purchase a ship for him, of which order he was himself to be the bearer, he had addressed a letter to the person engaged to enter men to accompany him, in which he informs him, that the men "on their arrival in France are to be turned over to one of the

finest frigates of the French navy, she having been purchased for the United States by their Commissioners at the Court of Paris, and to be put under my command." Probably Jones made a similar promise to Simpson, of leaving him in command of the *Ranger* on his transfer to the large frigate ; and, no doubt, when he made the promise, he had the fullest confidence in his ability to perform it ; but a person, who had seen as much of sailors as Jones had, should have known that nothing should ever be promised, either to officers or men, that by any possibility might not afterwards be fulfilled. There is no class of men who attach so much importance to the fidelity of those who command them, in the fulfilment of their engagements, or who concede such unqualified respect to those who observe it. Perhaps we may attribute Jones's want of influence among his officers and crew to his aptness to jump too quickly to results, to consider every project accomplished the moment that it was hinted to him, and, on the faith of these anticipations, to promise more than he was usually able to perform. Another source

of dissatisfaction among his crew grew out of the difficulty of procuring money to make advances to them, and of realizing the proceeds of their prizes. Simpson artfully took advantage of the discontent, occasioned by these causes, to direct the hatred of the men against Jones, by ascribing them to his artifices. Mr. Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners, also increased the discontent by listening to the complaints of the crew.

Jones was involved in another serious difficulty, at this time, with regard to the safe keeping of his prisoners, from which he was relieved by the assistance of the authorities at Brest, whom he had interested in his behalf. Dr. Franklin was engaged at the time in negotiating for an exchange of prisoners, which he soon after effected. Jones greatly contributed by his captures to this result, which he had much at heart; partly, no doubt, from those philanthropic views which he puts forward, and partly because he was personally interested in establishing a settled system of exchanges, on account of his peculiar position as a native of the country he was making

war against, and his great liability to capture on account of the reckless intrepidity with which he exposed himself.

The interest which he took in securing kind treatment to his prisoners, whilst he watched over their safe keeping, is most creditable to his feelings. In a letter addressed to Franklin, enclosing a memorial of the prisoners, he thus expresses himself, with characteristic warmth, concerning the person who supplied them. "The fellow who holds the rod over their wretched heads has menaced them if they dare to complain, and would have intercepted their memorial, had I not prevented it. This Riou is the scoundrel, who, by his falsehood, promoted discord in the *Ranger*, and got the deluded people to appoint him their particular agent. Before that time he never could call twenty louis his own, and now he is too rich for his former profession of King's interpreter. He does not deny that he is a scoundrel, for so I have called him more than once before witnesses, and so every person of sense thinks him at Brest."

Late in May, Franklin wrote to Jones pro-

posing immediate employment for the *Ranger* against the Jersey privateers, who did a great deal of mischief by intercepting supplies for America. Franklin said, that it had been intimated to him from high authority, that Jones's small vessel, commanded by so brave an officer, might render great service, by following the privateers where larger ships could not venture, and, being accompanied by some French frigates, following at a proper distance, might decoy them out. Franklin mentioned, that he had written to England about an exchange of prisoners, and concluded by congratulating Jones most cordially on his late success, and wishing him an increase of the honor he had acquired.

In reply to this letter, Jones began by expressing great readiness to perform any service that might be required of him, but expressed doubts as to his ability to lead his crew, "which," he said, "could only be done by the seldom-failing bait for sordid minds, great views of interest." He complained much of their homesickness, and proposed that those officers who were "most dangerously ill" of

that disease might have liberty to resign, that their commissions might be given to men of stronger nerves. He stated that the *Ranger* was crank, slow, and of too trifling force to be a match for most of the enemy's cruisers, and intimated his strong desire to be placed in command of the ship building at Amsterdam, which it had been the intention of Congress to give him, and which he did not doubt his ability to man with American seamen. He said that if two or three fast sailing ships could be collected, there was a great choice of enterprises, some of which might succeed, and add more to the interest and honor of America than cruising with twice the force. "It appears to me," he said, "to be the province of our infant navy to surprise and spread alarms with fast sailing ships. When we grow stronger, we can meet their fleets, and dispute with them the sovereignty of the ocean."

Among the various plans for expeditions submitted on this occasion by Jones, was one for entering the British Channel, and burning the shipping and town of Whitehaven, and thereby interrupting the winter's supply of coal for

Ireland, chiefly shipped from that place; another to take the bank of Ayr in Scotland, and burn the town, also the towns of Greenock and Port Glasgow, and the shipping in the Clyde. He considered the fishery at Cambletown also an object worthy of attention, and thought that some very valuable prizes might be found in the Irish ports. While preparations were making for this enterprise, he suggested that the eastern coasts of England and Scotland might be ravaged, the colliers of Newcastle burned, and several towns destroyed or laid under contribution. He had also a project for intercepting the Baltic or West India fleet, or the Hudson's Bay ships. It is quite painful to observe how many of these schemes for annoying the enemy had reference to his native country.

Before this letter could be received, Dr. Franklin addressed a letter to him, well suited to flatter his pride, and gratify his ambition to be on the road to greater distinction; for it proposed the very thing he had asked for, namely, the command of the *Indien*.

Franklin stated, that she was the property

of the King of France, and, as he had not yet declared war against England, it was proposed to place her under Paul Jones's command, with the commission and flag of the States. The Prince de Nassau, who had already signalized his taste for romantic adventure, promised to make the cruise as a volunteer under Jones's command. The ship was to be brought to Brest as a French merchantman, and be there equipped and manned. Franklin mentioned, that the other Commissioners were not acquainted with this proposition as yet, since it was necessary that it should be kept a secret until the vessel should arrive in France, for fear of difficulties in Holland, and interception. As the French ministry had desired that the affair should rest between Franklin and Jones, he suggested to the latter, that it might be best for him to come to Paris to mature the project.

After an interval of ten days, Franklin wrote again to Jones to say, that, in consideration of the disposition and uneasiness of the *Ranger's* crew, the Commissioners felt an inclination to order her directly back to Amer-

ica. He therefore suggested, whether it would not be advisable for Jones, in consideration of the proposal which had been made by the French ministry, that the ship should be sent back under some other commander. He mentioned, that in consequence of the high opinion the Minister of Marine had formed of Jones's bravery, he had determined to give him the frigate in Holland, to be furnished with as many French seamen as he might desire; but to act under the commission and flag of Congress; and, as Jones might like to have a number of Americans, and his own were homesick, it was proposed to give him as many as he could engage out of two hundred prisoners, which the ministry of Britain had at length agreed to exchange for those brought in by the *Ranger*. The English offered to make the exchange at Calais, where they were to bring the Americans. Nothing was wanting to complete the arrangement, but a list of the *Ranger's* prisoners, containing their names and rank; immediately after the receipt of which, an equal number were to be prepared, and sent in a ship to Calais,

where the *Ranger's* prisoners were to meet them. Franklin suggested, that, if by these means Jones could get a good new crew, it would be best that he were quite free of the old; for a mixture might introduce the infection of that sickness he had complained of. But this was to be left to his own discretion. Franklin added, that the Commissioners might place under his orders the *Providence*, a new Continental ship of thirty guns, which, as the sage stated with great apparent delight, "in coming out of the river of Providence, had given two frigates, that had been posted to intercept her, each of them so heavy a dose of her eighteen and twelve pounders, that they had not the courage or were not able to pursue her." He stated, that it was desired that Jones should come to Versailles, where one would meet him, in order to such a settlement of plans with those who had the direction, as could not well be done by letter. He said, that the project of giving Jones the command of the *Indien* pleased him the more, as it was a probable opening to the higher preferment he so justly merited.

The intelligence thus communicated to Jones, was of the most gratifying character; and, as the project gradually became matured, we find M. de Sartine, the Minister of Marine, signifying the desire of his sovereign to the American Commissioners, that they would relinquish to him the services of Captain Jones, to which they readily assented, with the assurance that they would be happy if his services should be in any respect useful in promoting the designs of the French government.

In accordance with the hint which he had received from Franklin, Jones proceeded to Paris, and on his arrival hastened to place his services at the disposal of M. de Sartine, while at the same time he very ingeniously gave it to be understood, that he was not dependent on his patronage, but was well satisfied with his present position and prospects. He wrote, that he should be ungrateful did he not return thanks for the Minister's kind and generous intentions in his favor; his greatest ambition would be to merit such approbation, by services against the common enemy of France

and America. He stated, that he had now under his command a ship bound to America, and that, on his arrival there, from the former confidence of Congress he had reason to expect an immediate removal into one of the best American ships; he had even reason to expect the chief command of the first squadron destined for an expedition, as he had in his possession several similar appointments; moreover, when Congress should see fit to appoint admirals, he had assurance that his name would not be forgotten. These, he said, were flattering prospects to a man, who had drawn his sword only upon principles of philanthropy, and in support of the dignity of human nature. But, as he preferred a solid to a shining reputation, a useful to a splendid command, he held himself ready, with the approbation of the Commissioners, to be governed by M. de Sartine in any measures that might tend to distress and humble the common enemy.

The hope, however, on the wings of which Jones had hastened to the Capital, and which had animated him while writing his grandilo-

quent letter, having for object to magnify his own importance, and procure for him that of which he was so worthy, a formidable command, and the means of winning glory on a great scale, was destined soon to fade away. To be sure, he was kindly received, and hospitably entertained, by many persons of distinction; but, as the war, which about this time commenced between France and England, enabled France to carry on hostilities under her own flag, she now required all her ships and seamen for her own armaments, so that Jones, in his subsequent efforts to obtain a better command than that of the *Ranger*, had to incur the jealousy and opposition of the whole French marine.

Owing to this state of things, and to some difficulty which Holland is supposed to have thrown in the way of removing the *Indien* from Amsterdam, for fear of provoking the enmity of England, the project of conferring the command of that ship on Jones, which the Minister had made the pretext of inviting him to Court, fell through entirely. Instead of it, he was amused with another scheme for the

capture of the Baltic fleet. Three frigates and two cutters were destined to effect this object, under the command of Jones. One of the frigates lay at Brest, which he was to command in person; the other two and the cutter were at St. Malo.

Jones felt so sure that he should be appointed to this command, that he went so far as to make inquiries for a chaplain, in order to give greater dignity to his flag. Another previous step of more serious importance, which he took, was to give up the command of the *Ranger* to his former troublesome lieutenant. Finding Simpson more reasonable before he left Brest, Jones had released him from confinement, on his giving his parole in writing, that he would not serve again in the navy until acquitted by a court-martial. Jones now addressed a letter to the Commissioners, in which he stated, that, at the time when he took Lieutenant Simpson's parole, he did not expect to have been long absent from America; but, as circumstances had now rendered the time of his return less certain, he was willing to let the dispute between them drop for

ever, by giving up his parole, which would entitle him to command the *Ranger*. He said he had no malice towards him, and, if he had unconsciously done him any injury, this would be making him all the satisfaction in his power. If, on the contrary, Simpson had injured him, he was willing to trust to that officer for a suitable acknowledgment.

It was in virtue of this complete release of Lieutenant Simpson from the obligation not to serve until tried by a court-martial, which Jones had imposed on him as the condition of his release from confinement, that the Commissioners probably made use of their authority to invest Lieutenant Simpson with the command of the *Ranger*, in order to return in her to the United States, her crew being exceedingly turbulent and discontented. Or else, he being the first lieutenant of the *Ranger*, the command naturally vested in him, when Captain Jones was detached, at the request of the French Minister of Marine, with a view to more important employment.

On his return to Brest, Paul Jones found that Count D'Orvilliers had already returned

from sea with the French fleet, and had given the command of Jones's proposed flag ship to one of his captains, who had lost his own ship in the course of the cruise. With regard to the two frigates and cutter, at St. Malo, that were to constitute the rest of Jones's squadron, M. de Sartine, finding himself harassed by abundant applications from French captains to be appointed to these very ships, found it convenient to change his arrangements as soon as Jones had departed, and sent the ships off at once, with French commanders, to fulfil Jones's project for the interception of the Baltic fleet, in which they met with no success. The result of these various events was, that Paul Jones found not only that his promised command of the expedition against the Baltic fleet had passed into other hands, but also that his late contumacious lieutenant, Simpson, was in command of the *Ranger*. Among the multiplicity of prospects of honorable employment which had a few days before been held up to him, he now found himself without a ship. He was naturally full of irritability; but his rage was unreasonably directed almost wholly

at Simpson, who had only accepted the command which Jones had promised to him before his departure from Portsmouth, and which he had now voluntarily relinquished to him. He wrote to the Commissioners on the 13th of August, that, since his arrival at Brest, five days before, he had neither seen nor heard from Lieutenant Simpson; but had been credibly informed, that it was generally reported in the *Ranger*, throughout the French fleet, and on shore, that he was turned out of the service; that the Commissioners had given Simpson his place, with a captain's commission, and that his letter to the Commissioners in Simpson's behalf had been involuntary, and in obedience only to their orders. That these reports prevailed, Jones said, was not an idle conjecture, but a melancholy fact. He therefore sought, nay demanded redress, redress by a court-martial, to form which he said that there was now a sufficient number of American officers in Brest and the neighbouring ports. Among the claims which he urged why his wounded feelings should be considered, he said that he had "faithfully

and personally fought in the dignified cause of human nature, ever since the American banner first waved on the Delaware and on the ocean."

The Commissioners very judiciously abstained from losing the time, and employing the services, of our officers in the French ports, by the investigation of this difficulty. Having determined to retain Jones in France, to carry out some projects of the French Ministry for the annoyance of the English coasts, and to despatch the *Ranger* to the United States under the command of Lieutenant Simpson, both of which measures were settled with the approbation of Jones, they ordered that vessel to return to Portsmouth, where she had been fitted out, and where she duly arrived, having made several prizes on the homeward passage. In order to put a stop to the injurious reports of which Jones complained, of his having been turned out of the *Ranger*, he not long after was furnished with an official letter from Franklin and Adams, stating that, as his removal from the *Ranger*, and the appointment of Lieutenant Simpson to command, might be

liable to misinterpretation, they certified that it had been done by the Commissioners, at the request of the French Minister of Marine, who was desirous of employing Jones on important service ; and that Simpson had been appointed to command the *Ranger* with the consent of Jones, after he had released him from arrest. As an evidence that Jones's ill opinion of Simpson was not altogether prejudice, it may be well here to mention, that he was not again employed in the navy.

CHAPTER V.

Season of Inactivity. — Jones's Impatience. — His Efforts to Obtain a Command. — Writes to Prince of Nassau-Siegen. — His Letter is not answered. — Writes to the French Minister of Marine. — Recapitulation of Claims and Grievances. — Letter to the Duke of Rochefoucauld. — Denunciation of the Minister of Marine. — Letter to M. Chaumont. — Letter to the King. — Statement of Wrongs. — Appeal to the Magnanimity of the Sovereign. — Determination of Government to buy a Ship for Jones. — Efforts of M. Chaumont. — Character of this Gentleman. — Jones enters into a Contention with Mr. Arthur Lee. — Prolonged Delay. — Advice of Poor Richard. — Jones adopts it. — Visits Versailles. — Receives Command of a Ship under the American Flag. — Calls her the Poor Richard.

During the five following months, Paul Jones was engaged in ineffectual efforts to secure the fulfilment of that promise of honorable employment, by which the French Minister of Marine had induced him to abandon the *Ranger*, and the project of returning to the United States. The hopeless inactivity in which he was kept, during this period, was by no means of his own choosing, and he made amends for it, as best he could, by indefatigable correspondence with every one who could in any way forward his object of obtaining instant employment. Among the personages

whom he endeavoured to interest in this matter, was the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, who had entertained the intention of accompanying Jones in the *Indien*, in the character of a volunteer. Jones wrote to him, to say that the honor which he had proposed to do him, by accompanying him on the ocean, had filled his heart with the warmest sentiments of gratitude. When the Prince's intentions were first communicated to him, he had under his command a ship bound with two frigates for America, where there were now two new ships of eighty guns each, and eight frigates of forty guns each, nearly ready for sea. When he should arrive there, from the former confidence of Congress, he had assurance of an immediate removal into one of their best ships, and of being appointed to command the first squadron, destined for any private expedition. Before he came to Europe, Congress had honored him with several such appointments, and he was assured, that, when admirals were appointed, his name would be remembered.

“These,” he said, “were flattering prospects to a man who had drawn his sword only

from principles of philanthropy, and in support of the dignity of human nature ;” and these were the prospects he had voluntarily laid aside, that he might pursue glory in the Prince’s company. “Suffer me not, therefore,” he said, “I beseech you, to continue longer in this shameful inactivity ; such dishonor is worse to me than a thousand deaths. I have already lost the golden season, the summer, which in war is of more value than all the rest of the year. I appear here as a person cast off and useless ; and, when any one asks me what I purpose to do, I am unable to answer.”

He told the Prince, that he had been unaccustomed to ask any favors, even from Congress, as he was not in pursuit of interest ; but he besought him to represent his situation to the best of Kings, that they might together be forthwith enabled to pursue glory, and humble the common enemy of humanity. If the ship that was at first proposed, could not be got ready for sea at once, others might be obtained. He mentioned a fine and fast sailing frigate at L’Orient, built on the same construction with the *Indien*, and mounted

with eighteen-pounders; and there were several others at St. Malo, to whom commanders had not yet been appointed. He avowed the greatest reliance on the generous intentions of that great minister, M. de Sartine, but expressed an unwillingness to intrude on him every day with letters, and, in the multiplicity and importance of his affairs, Jones found that his concerns might be forgotten.

The Prince of Nassau, having abandoned the project of making the cruise with Jones, as capriciously as he had taken it up, lent him no further aid in procuring a ship, and had not even the ordinary courtesy to reply to the above letter. The generous intentions of that great minister M. de Sartine, whose delusive offers had alone occasioned Jones's remaining in France, were equally unproductive of any tangible results, and, in consequence, Jones addressed him, on the 13th of September, what he called an "explicit letter."

"Honored Sir,

"When his Excellency, Dr. Franklin, informed me that you had condescended to think me

worthy of your notice, I took such pleasure in reflecting on the happy alliance between France and America, that I was really flattered, and entertained the most grateful sense of the honor which you proposed for me, as well as the favor which the King proposed for America, by putting so fine a ship of war as the *Indien* under my command, and under its flag, with unlimited orders. In obedience to your desire I came to Versailles, and was taught to believe that my intended ship was in deep water, and ready for sea; but, when the Prince de Nassau returned, I received from him a different account. I was told that the *Indien* could not be got afloat within a shorter period than three months, at the approaching equinox.

“To employ this interval usefully, I first offered to go from Brest with Count D’Orvilliers, as a volunteer, which you thought fit to reject. I had then the satisfaction to find that you approved, in general, of a variety of hints for private enterprises which I had drawn up for your consideration, and I was flattered with assurances from Messieurs de Chaumont and Baudonin, that three of the finest frigates

in France, with two tenders and a number of troops, would be immediately put under my command; and that I should have unlimited orders, and be at free liberty to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper. But this plan fell to nothing, in the moment, when I was taught to think, that nothing was wanting but the King's signature.

“Another much inferior armament from L'Orient was proposed to be put under my command, which was by no means equal to the services that were expected from it; for speed and force, though both requisite, were both wanting. Happily for me, this also failed, and I was thereby saved from a dreadful prospect of ruin and dishonor. I had so entire a reliance, that you would desire nothing of me inconsistent with my honor and rank, that the moment you required me to come down here, in order to proceed around to St. Malo, though I had received no written orders, and neither knew your intention respecting my destination or command, I obeyed with such haste, that although my curiosity led me to look at the armament at L'Orient, yet I was

but three days from Passy till I reached Brest. Here, too, I drew a blank ; but when I saw the *Lively*, it was no disappointment, as that ship, both in sailing and equipment, is far inferior to the *Ranger*.

“ My only disappointment here was my being precluded from embarking in pursuit of marine knowledge with Count D’Orvilliers, who did not sail till some days after my return. He is my friend, and expressed his wishes for my company. I accompanied him out of the road when the fleet sailed ; and he always lamented, that neither himself, nor any person in authority at Brest, had received from you any order that mentioned my name. I am astonished, therefore, to be informed that you attribute my not being in the fleet to my stay at L’Orient.

“ I am not a mere adventurer of fortune. Stimulated by principles of reason and philanthropy, I laid aside my enjoyments in private life, and embarked under the flag of America, when it was first displayed. In that line, my desire of fame is infinite, and I must not now so far forget my own honor, and what I owe

to my friends and America, as to remain inactive. My rank knows no superior in the American marine ; I have long since been appointed to command an expedition, with five of its ships, and I can receive orders from no junior or inferior officer whatever.

“ I have been here in the most tormenting suspense for more than a month since my return ; and agreeably to your desire, as mentioned to me by M. Chaumont, a lieutenant has been appointed, and is with me, who speaks the French as well as the English. Circular letters have been written, and sent the 8th of last month from the English Admiralty, because they expected me to pay another visit with four ships. Therefore I trust, that, if the *Indien* is not to be got out, you will not at the approaching season substitute a force that is not at least equal, both in strength and sailing, to any of the enemy’s cruising ships.

“ I do not wish to interfere with the harmony of the French marine ; but, if I am still thought worthy of your attention, I shall hope for a separate command, with liberal orders. If, on the contrary, you should now have no

further occasion for my services, the only favor I can ask is, that you will bestow on me the *Alert*, with a few seamen, and permit me to return; and carry with me your good opinion in that small vessel, before the winter, to America.

“I am happy to hear that the frigates from St. Malo have been successful near Shetland. Had Count D’Estaing arrived in the Delaware a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many other successful projects may be adopted from the hints I had the honor to draw up; and if I can still furnish more, or execute any of those already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest satisfaction. I am ambitious to merit the honor of your friendship and favor; and am fully persuaded that I now address a noble minded man, who will not be offended with the honest freedom which has always marked my correspondence.”

Not too confident in the unassisted justice of his cause, Jones soon after sought the

friendly interest of the Duke de Rochefoucauld in a letter, in which he very injudiciously launched forth into bitter invective against the Minister whom he had, the month before, so respectfully addressed. He pronounced the minister's behaviour towards him incomprehensible; denied having sought the connexion with the Court; and said that he had given up absolute certainties, and far more flattering prospects than any of those which had been held out to him. What inducement, Jones asked, could he have for this, but gratitude to France for having first recognised our independence? And, having given his word to stay for some time in Europe, he had been unwilling to take it back, especially after having communicated the circumstances to Congress. The Minister, after possessing himself of his schemes and ideas, had treated him like a child five times successively, by leading him on from great to little, and from little to less. Does such conduct, he asked, do honor either to his head or to his heart? Nor had he offered the least apology for any of these five deceptions; nor assigned any good reason

to that venerable and great character, Dr. Franklin, who had been made the instrument of entrapping Jones into this cruel state of inaction and suspense.

He complained, moreover, that M. de Sartine had lately written a letter to Count D'Orvilliers, proposing to send him home, "*dans une bonne voiture*, — in an easy coach." This he said, was absolutely adding insult to injury, and was, besides, the proposition of a man whose veracity he had not experienced on other occasions. He said that he might, during the summer, with the *Ranger*, joined with two other American frigates, then in France, have given the enemy sufficient foundation for its fears in Britain, as well as Ireland, and could since have been assisting Count D'Estaing, or acting separately with an American squadron. Instead of this, he had been chained down to shameful inactivity here, after having written to Congress, to reserve no command for him in America. Feeling convinced that the noble and generous breast of his correspondent would feel for his unmerited treatment, Jones besought him to

interest himself with the Duke de Chartres, that the King might be made acquainted with his situation, as he had been taught to believe that he had been detained in France with his Majesty's knowledge and approbation, and he felt sure he was too good a prince to detain him for his disadvantage or dishonor.

To M. le Ray de Chaumont, a rich and influential individual, who had taken a lively interest, from the first, in our revolutionary struggle, had made advances for the purchase of military stores to be shipped to America, and had exerted himself at court to procure Jones a suitable command, he a few days later addressed himself on the same subject, and with greater familiarity. M. de Chaumont had offered him, with many encomiums on his valor, the command of a ship of his own, to be fitted out as a privateer, as so many difficulties occurred to prevent his getting a ship of war. To this proposition he replied, with many thanks for the kindness intended to him, that he was not his own master; and, as a servant of what he called the Imperial Republic of America, honored with the friendship and

favor of Congress, he could not, of his own authority or inclination, serve either himself or even his best friends in any private line whatever. He held himself to be the servant of America, devoted wholly to her interest and honor. He said that he had believed the minister at the beginning, but now having been deceived so often, he would doubt him even though he were to swear again by the Styx; for it seems he had taken this oath in affirmation of one of his promises to Jones. Jones had written to him several respectful letters, to none of which had he condescended an answer. Jones said that the secrecy, which he had been required to observe respecting the Minister's intentions in his favor, had been inviolable; and he had been so delicate with respect to his situation, that he had been considered everywhere an officer disgraced and cast off for discreditable reasons. This had been his situation ever since his return from Paris, more than two months before; and he had already lost nearly five months of his time, the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving his country and acquiring honor, as

he could not again expect during the war. Jones protested that his sensibility could not brook this unworthy situation, and if the ministers did not make a direct written apology to him, suitable to the injury which he had sustained, he would, in vindication of his sacred honor, painful as it would be, publish in the gazettes of Europe an account of his treatment.

As the Minister had invited him to stay in Europe, by the laws of hospitality it was his duty to make offers. And, if he did not confer the command of the *Indien*, as first proposed, Jones insisted that he could not in honor now offer less than an equivalent force. He said that he would accept of nothing that sailed slow or was of trifling force, and, finally, that he should expect a reply to his demands immediately, and that it would afford him the truest satisfaction, if his honor should be made whole, and the misunderstanding happily removed.

Wearied with feeding his famished hopes upon no more substantial aliment than the delusive promises of men in power, and half frantic with impatience at such prolonged in-

activity, Jones at length bethought himself of making a last appeal to the magnanimity of the sovereign. He accordingly drew up a succinct history of his wrongs in a letter to the King of France, which he enclosed to Dr. Franklin, to be placed in the King's hands by the Duke de Rochefoucauld or the Duchess of Chartres, if they were disposed to do him that kindness. He expressed the hope that Dr. Franklin would find the letter to the King entirely free from asperity or ill-nature. He had been, and was still, he said, in the eyes of Brest and the French marine, considered as having incurred the Doctor's displeasure, and being consequently in disgrace. The Commissioners' refusal of his bill, his journey to Paris without any visible reason, the cabals and misrepresentations of Lieutenant Simpson, and his long inactivity, were held to be so many circumstantial proofs; and his dishonor was now so firmly believed everywhere that it was in vain for him to attempt any defence of himself. Such a situation, he said, destroyed his peace of mind, and was incompatible with his sensibility; yet he was far more affected

by the indignity that had been thus cast upon Dr. Franklin and America, than on his account. His heart could not forgive the Minister, until he should make whole his injured honor, by a direct apology and atonement for the past.

The letter to the King is written with Jones's characteristic ability. It paid due homage to the virtues of the sovereign, and forcibly set forth the services which he himself had rendered to the common cause, his claims to distinction, the promises which had been made to him of speedy employment, and the way in which those promises had been forfeited. He stated, that, after he had given up the command of the *Ranger* and remained in France at the express request of M. de Sartine, that Minister had not even condescended to answer his letters, also that the Prince of Nassau had treated him with equal incivility. He begged the King to observe, that he was not an adventurer in search of fortune, of which he thanked God he had a sufficiency. When the American banner was first displayed, he had drawn his sword in support of the violated

dignity and rights of human nature; as the King, by espousing the cause of America, had become the protector of the rights of human nature, Jones hoped that he would not allow him to remain any longer in such insupportable inactivity.

Owing to the advice of Franklin, and the more favorable aspect which Jones's prospects for employment began about this time to assume, this letter was not delivered. In consequence of the influence of M. le Ray de Chaumont, M. de Sartine had determined to purchase, at the King's expense, the best armed ship that could be found, to be fitted out under the American flag, and placed under the command of Jones. The gentleman who had been instrumental in effecting this favorable determination, and who was charged with carrying it into effect, had held the highly important public offices of *Grand Maître des Eaux et Forêts* and *Intendant* of the Invalids. He took an early and enthusiastic interest in the success of our Revolution, and not only aided us by his influence at court, but freely placed his large fortune at the disposal of our

government by furnishing large quantities of military stores, for which he only asked to be repaid when our independence should be fully established. He, moreover, courteously placed his magnificent hotel at Passy, with all its furniture, at the disposal of the American Commissioners, while they resided at the capital in secret relation with the government, but without being recognised. When subsequently called upon by John Adams, to state what rent the Commissioners were to pay, on the ground that it was not reasonable that the United States should be under so great an obligation to a private gentleman, he courteously replied, that, when he had consecrated his house to Dr. Franklin and his associates, he had made it to be fully understood that he should expect no compensation; because he perceived that they had need of all their means to send to the succour of their country, or to relieve the distresses of their countrymen escaping from the chains of their enemies. He begged that this arrangement, which he had made when the fate of our country was doubtful, might be permitted to remain. When

she should enjoy all her splendor, such services on his part, would be superfluous and unworthy of her ; but at present they might be useful, and he felt most happy in offering them. There was no occasion, he said, for strangers to be informed of his proceeding in this respect. It was so much the worse for those who would not do the same if they had the opportunity, and so much the better for him to have immortalized his house by receiving into it Dr. Franklin and his associates.

Such was the character of the gentleman who was charged with carrying the intentions of the government into effect with regard to Jones ; who wrote to him begging him to buy a frigate that sailed fast and was sufficiently large to carry twenty-six or twenty-eight guns, not less than twelve-pounders, on one deck. " I wish," he says, " to have no connexion with any ship that does not sail fast, for I intend to go in harm's way." A vexatious delay, however, of three months still continued to annoy Jones, and make him almost beside himself with impatience. During this period of expectation, he wrote a letter to

Mr. Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners, in reply to a charge of disrespect made by that gentleman against Jones while transmitting some inquiries about the *Ranger's* prizes; which letter no doubt served as a great relief to his irritation. It is remarkable, not only as throwing light upon this period of history, but also as showing that the tone of respectful entreaty in which he habitually addressed men in power, while soliciting to be placed in a position to meet danger and win glory, had not its origin in an over obsequious or servile spirit, and that he could occasionally, when offended by one of these, retort with bitterness and sarcasm.

After furnishing the information required of him, and referring to a letter to the Commissioners, in which he had previously transmitted a full report on the subject, he defended himself from the charge of disrespect, and then proceeded to active recrimination against Mr. Lee. He charged Mr. Lee with having concurred in dishonoring his draft on the Commissioners for funds to pay his crew, when he was aware of the obligation which

Jones had personally entered into with them at the time of their enlistment, of which fact the other Commissioners were ignorant. In consequence of this dishonor of his draft, he had found himself, for more than a month, destitute of funds, with a ship, disabled after a severe engagement, to be put in order, an almost naked crew to be clothed, and a large number of wounded, and two hundred prisoners of war, to be provided for. In reply to a second charge of disrespect brought against him by Mr. Lee, who had refused to furnish copies of some documents which Jones had asked for, he thus indignantly defends himself. "You objected to my receiving copies of some papers that concern me, because you thought that I had not made a respectful application. A copy of it is enclosed, which, though not in the form of an humble petition, I believe it will be difficult to construe into disrespect. True respect can never be extorted; and I will say of myself, that

'The tribute of respect to greatness due
Not the bribed sycophant more freely pays.'"

Jones's indulgence in this honest outbreak of

indignation, and the doubtful compliment conveyed in his quotation, cost him very dear, as we shall see in the sequel.

Months rolled on without producing any results from M. de Sartine's "final determination" to furnish Paul Jones with a ship. He had been instructed to look out for a suitable one; but, though he saw several that might be purchased, some difficulty perpetually presented itself to the fulfilment of his wishes. Having made a visit to L'Orient, he found there an uncommonly fine eighty-four gun ship, called the *Maréchal de Broglie*, which was for sale, but he doubted his ability to man her; there was also a small frigate, called the *Alert*, which had been taken from the English, and which he was willing to accept; and an India-man, fourteen years old, called the *Duc de Duras*, which he also thought might answer in the absence of a better one. Though ships were thus found, and a solemn promise had been made, still no order had yet been issued by M. de Sartine for the actual purchase of one.

While in this weary state of suspense, a

prey to impatience, anxiety, and mortification, Jones happened one day to be looking over an old number of Franklin's Pennsylvania Almanac, when his attention was struck with the saying of Poor Richard ; "If you would have your business done, go ; if not, send." It immediately occurred to him, that the delay of his own business was in no slight degree owing to his having so long remained at a distance, sending letters to court, instead of going to attend to it in person. He set out forthwith for the capital, and made such good speed in his errand, that, ere many days had elapsed, he received from the reluctant M. de Sartine, the following conclusive letter, dated at Versailles, on the 4th of February, 1779.

"To John Paul Jones, Esq., Commander of
the American Navy in Europe.

"Sir, I announce to you that, in consequence of the exposition I have laid before the King, of the distinguished manner in which you have served the United States, and of the entire confidence which your conduct has merited from Congress, his Majesty has

thought proper to place you in command of the ship *Duras* of forty guns, at present at L'Orient. I am about, in consequence, to issue the necessary orders for the complete armament of that ship. The commission, which was given to you at your departure from America, will authorize you to hoist the flag of the United States, and you will likewise make use of the authority which has been vested in you to procure a crew of Americans; but, as you may find difficulty in raising a sufficient number, the King permits you to levy volunteers, until you obtain men enough in addition to those who will be necessary to sail the ship. It shall be my care to procure the necessary officers, and you may be assured that I shall contribute every aid in my power to promote the success of your enterprise.

“As soon as you are prepared for sea, you will set sail without waiting for any ulterior orders; and you will yourself select your own cruising ground, either in the European or American seas, observing always to render me an exact account of each event that may take place during your cruise, as often as you may

enter any port under the dominion of the King. So flattering a mark of the confidence with which you are honored, cannot but encourage you to use all your zeal in the common cause ; and I am persuaded that you will justify, on every occasion, my favorable opinion of you. It only remains for me to recommend to you to show to those prisoners, who may fall into your hands, those sentiments of humanity which the King professes towards his enemies, and to take the greatest care, not only of your own crew, but also of all the ships which may be placed under your orders. According to your desire, I consent that the *Duras* take the name of the *Bon Homme Richard*."

Feeling that his final success in obtaining a command had been owing to his having adopted the good advice which he had met with in Dr. Franklin's Almanac, and out of compliment to the sage, for whom his veneration was so unbounded, Paul Jones had asked leave, as appears by M. Sartine's letter, to give the ship of which the command was now confer-

red upon him, the name of the *Bon Homme Richard*, the *Poor Richard*; a name which his heroism was destined to render as enduring as his own.

CHAPTER VI.

Object of the French Government in giving Jones a Command. — Arrival of the Alliance frigate in France. — She is added to the Expedition. — Lafayette proposes joining it. — Force and Character of the Squadron. — Advice of Franklin to Jones with regard to Coöperation. — Instructions for the Cruise. — Treatment of Prisoners. — Jones's Gratification with his Instructions. — Object of the Expedition changed. — Lafayette withdraws, to join in the Invasion of England. — The Squadron is employed in Convoys. — The Richard and the Alliance get foul. — The Richard is damaged. — The Squadron returns to refit. — Orders for a new Cruise. — Mutinous Spirit of the Richard's Crew. — Agreement entered into by all the Commanders. — Cause of future Contention. — Mixed Character of the Expedition.

THE original object of the French government in employing Jones, and furnishing him with a naval command, seems to have been to take advantage, not only of his brilliant courage and seaman-like skill, but also of his commission as an American officer, and of the American flag which he was entitled to display, to carry on a more harassing system of warfare on the British coasts than they would have been justified in doing under their own flag. Jones's favorite system; from the first, had been to retaliate for the burnings and de-

vastation with which the British had visited our shores ; and, as the observance hitherto of civilized rules of warfare had prevented them from enacting the same scenes on the coast of France, the coasts of England could be more effectually annoyed under the American flag. In addition to the *Bon Homme Richard*, four or five vessels of inferior force, two of them being fire-ships, were to be placed under the command of Jones, and a body of five hundred picked men, taken from the Irish brigade, were to embark under the immediate orders of the Chevalier Fitz-Maurice. The object of this expedition was to destroy the shipping and town of Liverpool. M. le Ray de Chaumont was appointed the confidential agent of the French government for the equipment of the squadron, and had charge of all the purchases.

The moment that Jones received his appointment, releasing him from such long inactivity, he bestirred himself in his preparations with characteristic zeal. He proceeded forthwith to Nantes, to engage seamen from among the Americans captured on board of English

ships. The sailors were pleased with the name of the *Poor Richard*, and entered readily. Jones, too, had a very persuasive way with sailors, and would walk for an hour on the pier with a single sailor whom he was desirous of securing, and rarely failed of success. About this time Lafayette arrived from the United States in the *Alliance*, a new American frigate of thirty-six guns, which had been named out of compliment to the recent alliance with France. With the same friendly motive towards that nation, the command of her was conferred on a Frenchman, by the name of Pierre Landais, who had recently arrived in the United States, as master of a merchant ship laden with military stores. According to a subsequent statement of Jones, Landais obtained the command by representing, that he had been a captain in the French navy, had commanded a ship of the line, and held an important station in the arsenal at Brest; moreover, that the estimation in which he was held in his own country would have enabled him to choose whatever honorable station he was willing to accept; but his desire to serve

America had induced him to abandon his country, and even to refuse the cross of St. Louis, that he might be free to abjure the religion of his forefathers. Landais had, in fact, belonged to the French navy; but he forgot to mention the material circumstance of his having been dismissed from it on account of infirmity of temper. Congress, having thus received the impression that Landais was in favor at the Court of Versailles, thought to pay that court an additional compliment by appointing him to the command of the *Alliance*. On the passage out, he had betrayed utter professional incompetence, coupled with a fitful irritability of temper which had thoroughly disgusted everybody. A mutiny was concerted among some Englishmen of the crew, who designed taking the ship into England, and narrowly failed of success; which the exertions of Lafayette greatly aided in preventing.

Lafayette, having heard of the projected expedition under Paul Jones, immediately conceived a desire to take part in it. His wish being encouraged by the Court, Jones was

summoned to Paris to consult on the projected change in the expedition, consequent upon the accession of Lafayette. It was decided that Lafayette should embark with a body of seven hundred picked men, assigned to him by the King. Franklin having received his credentials as ambassador by the *Alliance*, Jones applied to him to add that fine and uncommonly fast frigate to his squadron, and, the French government having joined in the request, it was readily, though as it afterwards proved, in an evil hour, granted.

Some idea of the character of this armament may be drawn from the following extract from Jones's Journal for the King, though he doubtless exaggerates the real defects of his force in order to magnify the glory which he subsequently won with it. "The cannon had not arrived for the *Bon Homme Richard*, and she was in great haste mounted with a battery of indifferent twelve-pounders. Six old-fashioned long eighteen-pounders were mounted in the gun-room; and ports were cut to fight them, six on one side. Thus, with the guns on the quarter-deck and fore-

castle, the *Bon Homme Richard* mounted forty guns; and, with the *Alliance* of thirty-six, the *Pallas* of thirty-two, the *Cerf* of eighteen, and the *Vengeance* of twelve, composed the little squadron. A crew was hastily procured for the *Bon Homme Richard* from among the English prisoners, and by enlisting raw French peasants and volunteers. Captain Jones had not more than thirty Americans among the crew. In the *Alliance* there had been a mutiny on the passage from America, and the captain and officers were ready to cut one another's throats. The first and second lieutenants deserted. The *Pallas*, a merchant ship, had been built for the King, and hastily fitted at Nantes. The *Vengeance* was bought by the Commissary, and fitted in the same manner. The *Cerf*, a fine cutter, was alone well fitted and manned."

In the belief that Lafayette would take part with Jones in the expedition, Franklin addressed to the latter some admirable advice, to regulate their conduct towards each other while acting together. He remarked, that it had been observed that joint expeditions of

land and sea forces, often miscarry through jealousies and misunderstandings between the officers of the different corps. This, he said, must happen where there were little minds, actuated more by personal views of profit or honor to themselves, than by a sincere desire of good to their country. Knowing both Lafayette and Jones as he did, he felt confident that nothing of the kind could happen between them, and that it was therefore unnecessary for him to recommend to either of them that condescension, mutual good will, and harmony, which contribute so much to success in such undertakings. He said, that he looked upon this expedition as an introduction to more extensive commands, and as a kind of trial of their abilities, and fitness in temper and dispositions for acting in concert with others, and therefore felt assured that nothing would happen that could give impressions to their disadvantage, when greater affairs should come under consideration. As the Marquis was a major-general in our service, he of course was superior in rank, and must have the entire command of the land

forces, committed by the King to his care; but the command of the ships was to belong wholly to Jones, in which Franklin felt persuaded, that, whatever authority Lafayette's rank might in strictness give him, he would not have the least desire to interfere. There was honor enough, he said, to be got for both, if the expedition was conducted with a prudent unanimity.

The letter concerning Lafayette was accompanied by instructions most creditable to the heart of the sage, and to the country which he represented. After directing the manner in which the squadron was to coöperate with the land forces, he proceeded to give directions for the treatment of prisoners, and of captured towns, in honorable contrast with the proceedings of the enemy on our own coast. When they became known to the British public, they called forth everywhere unmeasured commendation, and threw no little discredit on the ministry.

“ You are to bring to France all the Englishmen you may happen to take prisoners, in order to complete the good work you have

already made such progress in, of delivering by an exchange the rest of our countrymen now languishing in the jails of Great Britain. As many of your officers and people have lately escaped from English prisons, either in Europe or America, you are to be particularly attentive to their conduct towards the prisoners, whom the fortune of war may throw into your hands, lest resentment of the more than barbarous usage by the English in many places towards the Americans should occasion a retaliation, and an imitation of what ought rather to be detested and avoided, for the sake of humanity and for the honor of our country. In the same view, although the English have wantonly burnt many defenceless towns in America, you are not to follow this example, unless when a reasonable ransom is refused, in which case your own generous feelings, as well as this instruction, will induce you to give timely notice of your intention, that sick and ancient persons, women and children, may be first removed."

Jones received this admirable counsel, and these enlightened orders, in the same high-

mindful spirit in which they were conceived. In replying to a letter from Lafayette, which had accompanied them, and in which he had announced his intention of taking part in the cruise, Jones professed his readiness to cooperate heartily with him, and assured him that so flattering a proof of his esteem and friendship had made an impression on his mind that would attend him while he lived. And to Dr. Franklin, he wrote, that the letter he had received from him, together with his liberal instructions, would make a coward brave. He told him that he had called up every sentiment of public virtue in his breast, and it should be his pride and ambition, in the pursuit of his instructions, to deserve success. Few prospects, he said, could afford him so true a satisfaction as that of rendering some acceptable service to the common cause, and at the same time of relieving from captivity his unfortunate fellow countrymen still in the hands of the enemy.

At this juncture, Spain was on the point of joining in the alliance against England, and hopes were conceived of obtaining the mas-

tery of the seas by the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, so as to cover an invasion of England, for which preparations were made on a grand scale in the adjacent provinces of France. It was to take part in this meditated grand invasion, that Lafayette was withdrawn from the humbler expedition of Jones's; which was in reality more formidable, because it was more likely to take effect.

The expedition being thus abandoned, it was desirable to find employment for this expensive armament, and, instead of the daring project of destroying Liverpool and its shipping, Jones was assigned to the less congenial service of driving the enemy's cruisers out of the Bay of Biscay, and giving convoy to vessels bound from port to port along the coast. He sailed from L'Orient on this service on the 19th of June. In the night of the 20th, the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance* got foul of each other, by which accident, the former lost her head, cut-water, jib-boom, and spritsail-yard, and the latter her mizen-mast. The character of Captain Landais, which had exhibited itself in a very odious light on the

passage out from America, and which in his new association had already begun to show the jealousy, insubordination, and braggart insolence which belonged to it, led to the impression that the collision was not avoided by him. As, however, the lieutenant of the *Bon Homme Richard*, who had the watch at the time, was subsequently broken for his conduct on this occasion, the blame could not have belonged wholly to Landais; though he, it seemed, behaved infamously at the time; for it was solemnly attested by the officers of the squadron, that, instead of giving the necessary orders to prevent the collision, and afterwards remaining on deck to assist in the extrication of his ship, he went below to load his pistols. The base desertion of his station at a critical moment, when the fate of his ship was at hazard, showed a shrinking from duty and responsibility, and a want of presence of mind, whilst the search for his pistols, real or affected, to be used against his commanding officer, evinced a braggart disposition to shed blood, which was doubtless assumed to cover the timidity with which the jeopardy of his

ship had affected him. This anecdote will be found very characteristic of the man in after scenes of much greater peril.

On the last day of June, Jones returned to L'Orient to repair the damages sustained in his collision with the *Alliance*. During this cruise, he transmitted a draft for thirty pounds for the use of his relations. It was sent circuitously through a friend in Dublin, under a feigned name, but, from some accident or dishonesty, never reached its destination. Soon after his return to L'Orient, he received instructions from Dr. Franklin with regard to his future movements. He was directed to proceed, with the vessels under his command, to the west coast of Ireland, and cruise off the Orcades, the Cape of Derneus, and the Dogger Bank, in order to take the enemy's property in those seas. All prizes were to be sent to Dunkirk, Ostend, or Bergen in Norway, according to the proximity of either of those ports, and be addressed to the persons M. de Chaumont should name. About the 15th of August, he was directed to proceed to the Texel, where he would find further orders.

In writing to Franklin on his return to L'Orient, Jones returned to the old theme, his desire to obtain the command of the *Indien*, and stated, that if the Court was still disposed to give him that ship, he thought he could make a useful cruise towards the Texel with the force now under his command, and afterwards bring that ship out with the crew he now had. He found great fault with the dull sailing of the old *Bon Homme Richard*, and her defects of every description. Franklin's reply betrays as much gentle impatience as the sage was probably capable of feeling. He said he had no other orders to give; for, as the Court was at the chief expense, he thought they had the best right to direct. When a thing had been once determined on in Council, they do not care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand, and no time for reconsideration. By way of comfort, however, he mentioned in confidence that the cruise had been ordered to terminate at the Texel, with the view of getting out the *Indien*.

During Jones's short cruise in the Bay of

Biscay, a mutinous spirit had exhibited itself among the Englishmen of his crew, who had entered the service as Americans, in order to escape from prison, and in the hope, perhaps, of afterwards returning to the allegiance of their own flag. Two quarter-masters were implicated as ringleaders in a conspiracy to take the ship. It was necessary to hold a court-martial for the trial of these offenders; and a knowledge of these circumstances, thus reaching M. de Sartine, created a distrust with regard to the efficiency of the *Bon Homme Richard*, which gave Jones great annoyance. The result of the court-martial was, that the quarter-masters were severely whipped, instead of being condemned to death, as Jones, from a letter written about this period, seems to have apprehended. As a cartel arrived at Nantes with one hundred and nineteen American prisoners at this conjuncture, and efforts were made to enter them for the *Bon Homme Richard*, it is probable that the character of her crew was much improved before she again put to sea. At the request of M. de Sartine, Lieutenant-Colonel de Chamillard de Warville

was received on board of the *Richard* as commander of marines, and the cruise was also extended so as to take in the whole of September.

Before the squadron put to sea, M. le Ray de Chaumont produced an agreement for the signature of Jones, and the other commanders, in conformity with an intimation which he had made to him two months previously, that such a document would be required. By this agreement, styled a *concordat*, the five captains, Jones, Landais, Cottineau, Varage, and Ricot, bound themselves, unless detached from the squadron by order of the Minister of Marine, to act together by virtue of the commission which they had received from the United States. In the event of the death of the commander-in-chief, the officer next in rank was to succeed him. The division of prize-money to the crews was to be regulated by the American laws; but the proportion of each vessel was to be decided by the French Minister of Marine and the American Ambassador, under whose joint orders the squadron acted. A copy of the American laws was an-

nexed to the *concordat*. All prizes were to be consigned to M. le Ray de Chaumont, who furnished the expenses of the armament. He was not to pay the prize-money of any individual of the squadron except to his order, and was to be personally responsible to each for the amount of his share. Armed vessels, whether French or American, could unite with the squadron by mutual consent.

Though Jones signed this paper, he subsequently made it the subject of bitter complaint. He ascribed to it most of the discord and insubordination which occurred during the cruise ; and no doubt the novel feature, in a military expedition, of the inferior commanders becoming parties to an agreement, by which the commander-in-chief was also bound, instead of being subject to his unconditional orders, contributed to the disorder of which the discordant materials composing the expedition were likely to be in themselves sufficiently productive. In the *Bon Homme Richard*, whilst the commander was by birth a Scotchman, a part of his officers were American and a part French. Of his crew, one third might

be Americans, half of the remainder Englishmen, and the rest French volunteers, to act as marines, and guard the doubtful fidelity of the English, who had entered to escape from prison. The captain of the *Alliance* was a Frenchman, by character jealous, irritable, incompetent, and treacherous, whilst his officers and crew were all Americans. Of the other vessels, the officers and crews were entirely French, though all bore equally the flag, and acted under the commission, of the United States. As the squadron was about to put to sea, it was joined by two privateers, the *Monsieur* of forty guns, and the *Grandville* of fourteen. The two privateers did not, however, enter into the *concordat*, but remained in company by voluntary agreement.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure of the Squadron from L'Orient. — Incipient Insubordination. — A Privateer parts Company. — Makes the Coast of Ireland. — Desertion of the Richard's Barge. — Loss of another Boat. — Insolence of Landais of the Alliance. — Desertion of two Vessels. — The Squadron encounters a severe Gale. — Separation of Ships. — The Richard passes between Scotland and the Western Isles. — Falls in with the Alliance off Cape Wrath. — Capture of two valuable Prizes. — They are sent to Norway. — Renewed Insolence of Landais. — The Alliance parts Company. — The Squadron off the Firth of Forth. — Project of a Descent upon Leith. — His Captains oppose the Enterprise. — They yield their Consent. — The Squadron enters the Firth. — Is taken for an English Force. — Request sent to Jones for Ammunition. — Summons prepared for Leith. — Approach to Kirkaldy. — Prayer of Mr. Shirra. — Gale out of the Firth. — The Squadron driven off. — Project against Hull and New Castle. — Evils of the Concordat.

HAVING issued general orders for the government of the different commanders, assigned to each vessel its station in the order of sailing, and appointed two points of rendezvous in case of separation, Jones put to sea from L'Orient on the 14th of August, 1779. His squadron amounted, with the two privateers, to seven sail; a force, he says, "which might have effected great services and done infinite injury to the enemy, had there been secrecy

and due subordination. Unfortunately there was neither. Captain Jones saw his danger ; but, his reputation being at stake, he put all to the hazard."

On the 18th, the squadron recaptured a large Dutch ship which had been taken a few days before by an English privateer. The captain of the *Monsieur*, which was the boarding vessel, took a number of articles out of this prize, and, then manning her, ordered her into port, without reference to the commander-in-chief, who was in sight. Jones, however, countermanded the orders, and despatched her for L'Orient, which doubtless gave offence to the captain of the *Monsieur*, as he disappeared that evening, and did not rejoin the squadron.

On the 23d, the squadron made Cape Clear, the extreme southern point of Ireland, having taken several prizes on the passage. It being calm, Jones sent his boats in-shore to capture a brigantine. Soon after it became necessary to lower the barge, and send her ahead to tow, so as to keep the ship from drifting into a dangerous bay. At dusk, the barge's crew cut the tow line and pulled for the shore. Sev-

eral shots were fired without effect, and Mr. Cutting Lunt, the master, went with another boat and several marines in chase of them, and, pursuing too far, a fog came on which prevented his return. On the following day Captain Landais came on board the Commodore's ship, and reproached him in the most insulting and disrespectful manner for losing his boats, telling him that he, Landais, was the only American in the squadron, that he should hereafter follow his own opinion with regard to chasing, notwithstanding Jones's orders, and, moreover, that, if Jones kept the squadron three days longer in that situation, it would inevitably be taken. In a regular service, such insolence and insubordination would be inconceivable. The disaffected character of Jones's crew, and the great proportion of Englishmen it contained, are also made manifest by the desertion of the barge, which usually contains the best and most trusty men. He reports to the Ambassador, that, by the advice of Captain Cottineau, and with the free consent of Captain Varage, he had sent the *Cerf* in to reconnoitre the coast, and

endeavour to find the boats and people, the next day, while the squadron stood off and on in the southwest quarter, in the best possible situation to intercept the enemy's merchant ships. Thus, before giving orders of indispensable necessity, as a superior officer, we find him taking the advice of one captain, and obtaining the free consent and approbation of another. It is necessary, however, to take all these circumstances into consideration, in order to estimate the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and the glory which, in defiance of them, he was still able to achieve.

The *Cerf*, on approaching the shore to reconnoitre, was seen by Mr. Lunt in the ship's boat; but, as the *Cerf* was under English colours, he mistook her character, and attempting to escape towards the land, was made prisoner. By this means, the *Bon Homme Richard* lost two of her boats, her master, and twenty of her crew. The *Cerf* was not again seen, she having returned to France, instead of proceeding to the rendezvous, which had been fixed upon. The *Grandville*, having made a prize, also lagged behind and parted company. There remained of the original squadron only

the *Bon Homme Richard*, the *Alliance*, the *Pallas*, and the *Vengeance*. As Jones, however, undoubtedly gained strength as he parted with his insubordinate and faithless followers, it was rather to be regretted that the defection had not been greater; especially would he have gained by parting with the treacherous Landais.

On the night of the 26th of August, it came on to blow heavily from the southwest; and Jones, yielding to the insolent and insubordinate objections of Landais, against remaining longer in that neighbourhood, bore up and ran to the northward along the coast of Ireland. Landais steered a course two points different from that which Jones had ordered by signal, the *Pallas* carried away her tiller in the night, and Jones found himself the next morning alone with the *Vengeance*. On the 31st, the *Alliance*, being off Cape Wrath, joined company, with a valuable West Indian, called the *Betsey*, mounting twenty-two guns, which she had taken. As the *Alliance* came up with her prize, the *Bon Homme Richard* was in the act of capturing a twenty-

two gun ship, called the *Union*, bound for Canada with naval stores. Landais had the insolent folly to send a message to Jones, to ask whether he should man the ship, as, in that case, he would suffer no boat from the *Richard* to board her. "For the sake of peace," as he says, Jones yielded to these terms, and the prize was manned from the *Alliance*, while the prisoners were received on board the *Richard*. On the same day, Jones having made a signal to Landais to chase, instead of obeying, he wore and laid his ship's head the other way. The next morning, a signal was made for him to come within hail of the *Richard*; this he did not even answer; and, on September 3d, he acted in direct violation of Jones's orders, by sending the two valuable prizes, recently taken, to Bergen in Norway, where they were subsequently given up to the English, by order of the Danish government. Their value was estimated to exceed forty thousand pounds sterling. On the evening of the 4th, the Commander made signal for all captains to repair on board, which Landais not only refused to do, but, when

Captain Cottineau, who had joined company in the *Pallas* the day before, and M. Chamillard went to persuade him, he used the most insulting language with regard to the Commodore, and said that he would see him on shore, when one of them must kill the other. After this amiable demonstration, he again parted company.

On the 5th, it came on to blow heavily and continued boisterous for several days. In the mean time the squadron having doubled the north of Scotland, ran down on the eastern coast, and on the evening of the 13th, came in sight of the hills of Cheviot. On the following day, being off the Firth of Forth, Jones captured several vessels from Leith, by which he learned that the only vessels of war lying in the roads were a twenty-gun ship and three or four cutters. He immediately conceived the daring and characteristic design of capturing this force, and then landing his marines, and laying the town under contribution, under the penalty of being immediately burned. Though much weakened, and embarrassed with prisoners, he was anxious to teach the

enemy humanity by some exemplary stroke of retaliation, as well as to make a diversion in the north, to favor a formidable descent, which he expected would have been made about this time, on the south side of Great Britain, under cover of the combined fleet. The wind was favorable to run up the Firth; but, the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* being at a distance in the offing, he stood out to meet them, in order to concert the attack. On communicating his plan to his captains, they started many difficulties and objections. "After spending the whole night," he says, "all his arguments on the side of honor and humanity failed. He then spoke to their ruling passion, and showed them a large heap of gold at the end of the prospect. He was now heard with attention." "They appeared to think better of the design," he elsewhere says, "after I had assured them that I hoped to raise a contribution of two hundred thousand pounds on Leith, and that there was no battery of cannon there to oppose our landing. So much time, however, was unavoidably spent in pointed remarks and sage deliberation that night, that the wind be-

came contrary in the morning." Nevertheless, Jones did not abandon his design, but continued working to windward.

On the 15th, they captured a small collier, called the *Friendship* of Kirkaldy, the master of which, Andrew Robertson, agreed, on condition of his vessel being restored to him, to pilot the squadron into Leith. On the 16th, the ships being close in with the coast of Fife, under English colors, were taken for King's vessels in pursuit of Paul Jones, who was supposed to be on the coast; for a large proprietor of that neighbourhood, who was a member of Parliament, sent off a boat to the *Richard*, to ask for powder and shot, that he might have the means of defending himself from the expected visit of the pirate Paul Jones. Jones returned a very polite message and sent a barrel of powder, but expressed his regret that he had no suitable shot. In order to make the favor reciprocal, and diminish the weight of obligation he was imposing on the honorable gentleman, he detained one of the boatmen as a pilot.

Meantime, every preparation was made for

landing, and a summons was prepared with every prospect of its being not only delivered, but complied with. It was sufficiently tumid; but perhaps not the less suited to terrify the worthy burghers. A blank capitulation was at the same time drawn up in readiness to be signed by the magistrates. The summons ran as follows.

“ The Honorable J. Paul Jones, Commander-in-chief of the American Squadron, now in Europe, to the Worshipful Provost of Leith, or, in his absence, to the Chief Magistrate, who is now actually present, and in authority there.

“ Sir; The British marine force, that has been stationed here for the protection of your city and commerce, being now taken by the American arms under my command, I have the honor to send you this summons by my officer, Lieutenant Colonel de Chamillard, who commands the vanguard of my troops. I do not wish to distress the poor inhabitants; my intention is only to demand your contribution towards the reimbursement which Britain owes

to the much injured citizens of the United States ; for savages would blush at the unmanly violation and rapacity that have marked the tracks of British tyranny in America, from which neither virgin innocence nor helpless age has been a plea of protection or pity.

“Leith and its port now lie at our mercy ; and, did not our humanity stay the hand of just retaliation, I should, without advertisement, lay it in ashes. Before I proceed to that stern duty as an officer, my duty as a man induces me to propose to you, by means of a reasonable ransom, to prevent such a scene of horror and distress. For this reason, I have authorized Lieutenant Colonel de Chamillard to conclude and agree with you on the terms of ransom, allowing you exactly half an hour’s reflection before you finally accept or reject the terms which he shall propose. If you accept the terms offered within the time limited, you may rest assured that no further debarkation of troops will be made, but the reëmbarkation of the vanguard will immediately follow, and the property of the citizens shall remain unmolested.”

Late in the afternoon of the 16th, the squadron was distinctly seen from Edinburgh Castle, beating up the Firth. Its real character was suspected. The alarm spread far and wide, and the audacity of Jones struck a panic terror far beyond what his force justified, and which was well suited to paralyze any effort at resistance; arms, however, were distributed to the trades, and efforts hastily made to erect batteries at Leith. On the morning of the 17th, in one of her tacks towards the northern shore, the *Richard* stood boldly up within a mile of Kirkaldy, as if about to make a descent on the town. The simple inhabitants were in an awful consternation. It is related that the minister of the place, the Rev. Mr. Shirra, who was very eccentric and remarkable for the quaint and somewhat unseemly hardihood which often characterized his prayers, joined his flock on the sandy beach which skirts the town, and commenced supplicating earnestly in the following odd strain.

“Now deer Lord, dinna ye think it a shame for ye to send this vile piret to rob our folk o’ Kirkaldy; for ye ken they ’re puir enow

already, and hae naething to spaire. The wa the ween blaws, he 'll be here in a jiffie, and wha kens what he may do? He 's nae too guid for ony thing. Meickle 's the mischief he has dune already. He 'll burn thir hooses, tak their very claes and tirl them to the sark; and wae 's me! wha kens but the bluidy villain might take their lives? The puir weemen are maist frightened out o' their wits, and the bairns skirling after them. I canna thol't it! I canna thol't it! I hae been lang a faithfu' servant to ye, Laird; but gin ye dinna turn the ween about, and blaw the scoundrel out of our gate, I 'll na staur a fit, but will just sit here till the tide comes. Sae tak yere wull o't."

Such is said to have been the prayer of Mr. Shirra on this occasion, the extravagance of which may have grown in the hands of some waggish editor of the day. Be it as it may, a violent gale just then sprung up, which stranded one of the prizes, and compelled Jones to bear up and run out of the Firth. Popular belief among the good people of Kirkaldy long continued to ascribe this gale to a direct

manifestation of divine interposition in their favor, brought on by the energetic supplications of their worthy minister. Nor did he altogether disclaim the honor; for, when long after he used to be complimented on the subject, he was wont to say, "I prayed; but the Lord sent the wind."

Jones tells us in his official account, that he was nearly within gun-shot of Leith, having made every preparation to land, when the gale freshened to blow with great violence. He made an effort to withstand its force and reach his anchorage, now quite near; but, after an ineffectual struggle, he was obliged to bear away and run out of the Firth. The gale abated in the evening; but he was then far from the port; and, thinking that the alarm had been effectually given far and near, and the proximity of Edinburgh would have enabled the authorities to make formidable preparations to meet him at Leith, he was obliged, though reluctantly and with many regrets, to abandon his enterprise. Daring as it was, had he been so favored by the wind as to have reached Leith without warning, which he

might have done had his coadjutors lent him hearty coöperation from the first, instead of enlightening him with their "pointed remarks and sage deliberation," the very suddenness of the attack would have doubtless secured its success. The exploit bears the same character of hardihood as the descent on Whitehaven. Had circumstances been more propitious, it would doubtless have been successful. The conception, at any rate, belongs to the highest character of intrepidity.

Two days after, Jones was already meditating another attempt to destroy one of the enemy's towns. It is supposed that his attention was now directed against Hull, or Newcastle, probably the latter, as it had been a favorite project of his to cut off the supply of coal for London, which the destruction of the shipping of that place would have temporarily effected, in addition to the great loss of property. He proposed this scheme to Captain Cottineau, of the *Pallas*. This officer objected to the project, and warned Jones that a delay of two days more on the coast would inevitably lead to their capture. He intimated, moreover, to

Colonel de Chamillard, that, unless Jones left the coast the next day, the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* would abandon him. It was an evil, that grew out of the concordat, and the inferior commanders being made acquainted with the orders under which Jones acted, that they knew that the period fixed for the termination of the cruise at the Texel had arrived. They were, therefore, anxious to leave a neighbourhood, which they expected would soon be too hot for them. Jones had thought of attempting the project alone, and protests that he would have done so, with every confidence of success, but for the reproach that would have been cast upon his character as a man of prudence, had the enterprise miscarried. It would have been said, "Was he not forewarned by Captain Cottineau and others?"

Jones was the last man to have others associated with him, with the right to claim an explanation of his views and to pass judgment upon them, as, owing to the nature of the agreement entered into by the various commanders, the distrust of the chief, and the indiscreet confidence reposed in the subordi-

nates, was the case on this ill-arranged expedition. The accuracy of the local knowledge of this coast which he obtained from his prisoners, and his ingenuity in combining it, above all, the freedom from vague apprehension of unseen dangers which left his judgment undisturbed to study and appreciate the real difficulties of any undertaking, enabled him to estimate the chances of success with an accuracy convincing to himself, though not obvious to others, less ingenious, and less free from disturbance by the prospect of danger. Others could not see with his eyes. It was an inherent vice in this armament, that its ill-assorted composition, and the principle upon which it was sent out, rendered it necessary they should do so. Jones was a man to be obeyed. Had he been at the head of a regular force of American ships, fitted out at home, imperfectly organized as our navy then was, there is scarcely a limit to the services that he might have effected. There was one service, however, that he did effect in defiance of all obstacles which surrounded him. In the decayed and ill-contrived old ship in which

he found himself cast forth upon the ocean, in a scarcely seaworthy condition from the first, and having under his orders a motley collection of officers and seamen of almost every country, he fought a battle, which, for stubborn and resolute courage, and triumphant success, is unsurpassed by any sea-fight of ancient or modern times. This is a service, the value of which will be felt in its animating and encouraging example, so long as we continue to have a name among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Squadron off Flamborough Head. — Discovers the Baltic Fleet. — Gives Chase. — The opposing Ships approach. — State of the Weather. — Spectators on Shore. — Eccentric Movements of the Alliance. — The Action begins between the Richard and the Serapis. — Two Guns of the Richard burst. — The Serapis passes round the Richard. — Attempts to cross her Bow. — The two Ships get foul. — Jones attempts to board. — Is repulsed. — The Ships separate. — The Richard lays the Serapis athwart Hawse. — The Ships swing Broadside and Broadside. — The Serapis anchors. — Terrible Cannonade from the Serapis. — The Alliance rakes the Richard. — Jones superintends the Quarter-deck Battery. — Effective Fire from the Richard's Tops. — Combustibles thrown on board the Serapis. — Explosion on her Main Deck. — Alarm lest the Richard should sink. — Gunner cries for Quarter. — Prisoners released. — Desperate Situation of Jones. — He does not despair. — The Serapis strikes. — Her Captain delivers up his Sword. — Mangled Condition of the Richard. — Both Ships on Fire. — Removal of the Wounded. — The Richard sinks. — Comparative Force of the Ships. — Victory due personally to Jones. — Conduct of Landais. — Jones's Heroism.

THE battle between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis* is invested with an heroic interest of the highest stamp. From the day of his unsuccessful effort to attack Leith, Jones had been cruising off the mouth of the Humber, and along the Yorkshire coast, intercepting the colliers bound to London, many of which he destroyed. On the morning of the

23d of September, he fell in with the *Alliance*. This rencontre was a real misfortune; as, in the battle which ensued, the disobedience and mad vagaries of Landais were about to be converted into absolute treason. The squadron now consisted of the *Richard*, the *Alliance*, the *Pallas*, and the *Vengeance*.

About noon, Jones despatched his second lieutenant, Henry Lunt, with fifteen of his best men, to take possession of a brigantine, which he had chased ashore. Soon after, as the squadron was standing to the northward towards Flamborough Head, with a light breeze from south-southwest, chasing a ship, which was seen doubling the cape, in opening the view beyond, they gradually came in sight of a fleet of forty-one sail running down the coast from the northward, very close in with the land. On questioning the pilot, the Commodore discovered that this was the Baltic fleet, with which he had been so anxious to fall in, and that it was under convoy of the *Serapis*, a new ship, of an improved construction, mounting forty-four guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty guns.

Signal was immediately made to form the line of battle, which the *Alliance*, as usual, disregarded. The *Richard* crossed her royal yards, and immediately gave chase to the northward, under all sail, to get between the enemy and the land. At the same time signal of recall was made to the pilot boat; but she did not return until after the action. On discovering the American squadron, the headmost ships of the convoy were seen to haul their wind suddenly, and go about so as to stretch back under the land, towards Scarborough, and place themselves under cover of the cruisers; at the same time, they fired signal guns, let fly their top-gallant sheets, and showed every symptom of confusion and alarm. Soon afterward, the *Serapis* was seen stretching to windward, to get between the convoy and the American ships, which she soon effected. At four o'clock, the English cruisers were in sight from deck. The *Countess of Scarborough* was standing out to join the *Serapis*, which was lying to for her, whilst the convoy continued to run for the fort, in obedience to the signals displayed

from the *Serapis*, which was also seen to fire guns. At half past five, the two ships had joined company, when the *Serapis* made sail by the wind; at six, both vessels tacked, heading up to the westward, across the bows of the *Richard*, so as to keep their position between her and the convoy.

The opposing ships thus continued to approach each other slowly, under the light southwesterly air. The weather was beautifully serene, and the breeze being off the land, which was now close on board, produced no ripple on the water, which lay still and peaceful, offering a fair field to the combatants about to grapple in such deadly strife. The decks of the opposing vessels were long since cleared for action, and ample leisure remained for reflection, as the ships glided towards each other at a rate but little in accordance with the impatience of the opponents. From the projecting promontory of Flamborough Head, which was less than a league distant, thousands of the inhabitants, whom the recent attempt upon Leith had made aware of the character of the American ships, and the reck-

less daring of their leader, looked down upon the scene, awaiting the result with intense anxiety. The ships also were in sight from Scarborough, the inhabitants of which thronged the piers. The sun had already sunk behind the land, before the ships were within gun-shot of each other; but a full harvest-moon rising above the opposite horizon, lighted the combatants in their search for each other, and served to reveal the approaching scene to the spectators on the land with a vague indistinctness which rendered it only the more terrible.

We have seen, that the *Alliance* had utterly disregarded the signal to form the line of battle, when the Baltic fleet was first discovered and our squadron bore down upon them. She stood for the enemy without reference to her station, and, greatly outsailing the other vessels, was much sooner in a condition to engage. Captain Landais seemed, for once, to be actuated by a chivalrous motive, and likely to do something to redeem the guilt of his disobedience. The officers of the *Richard* were watching this new instance of eccentricity,

for which Landais's past conduct had not prepared them, with no little surprise; when, after getting near to where the *Serapis* lay, with her courses hauled up and St. George's ensign, the white cross of England, proudly displayed, he suddenly hauled his wind, leaving the path of honor open to his commander. While the *Pallas* stood for the *Countess of Scarborough*, the *Alliance* sought a position in which she could contemplate the double engagement without risk, as though her commander had been chosen umpire, instead of being a party interested in the approaching battle. Soon afterward, the *Serapis* was seen to hoist the red ensign instead of St. George's, and it was subsequently known that her captain had nailed it to the flag-staff with his own hand. •

About half past seven, the *Bon Homme Richard* hauled up her courses and rounded to on the weather or larboard quarter of the *Serapis*, within pistol-shot, and steered a nearly parallel course, though gradually edging down upon her. The *Serapis* now triced up

her lower deck ports, showing two complete batteries, besides her spar-deck, lighted up for action, and making a most formidable appearance. At this moment, Captain Pearson, her commander, hailed the *Bon Homme Richard*, and demanded, "What ship is that?" Answer was made, "I can't hear what you say." The hail was repeated; "What ship is that? answer immediately, or I shall be under the necessity of firing into you!" A shot was fired in reply by the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was instantly followed by a broadside from each vessel. Two of the three old eighteen-pounders in the *Richard's* gun-room burst at the first fire, spreading around an awful scene of carnage. Jones immediately gave orders to close the lower deck ports, and abandon that battery during the rest of the action.

The *Richard*, having kept her head-way, and becalmed the sails of the *Serapis*, passed across her forefoot, when the *Serapis*, luffing across the stern of the *Richard*, came up in turn on the weather or larboard quarter; and, after an exchange of several broadsides from

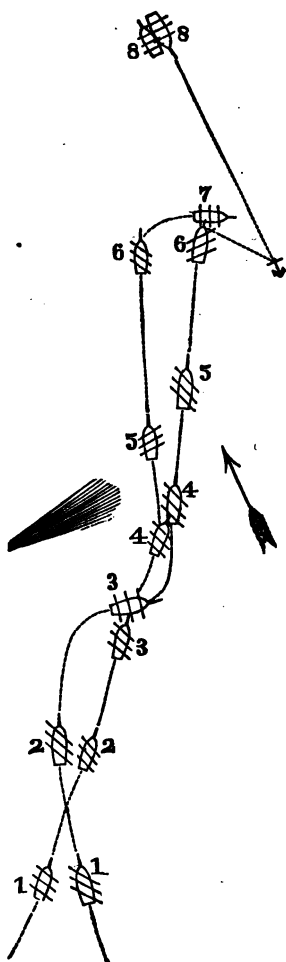
the fresh batteries, which did great damage to the rotten sides of the *Richard*, and caused her to leak badly, the *Serapis* likewise becalmed the sails of the *Richard*, passed ahead, and soon after bore up and attempted to cross her forefoot, so as to rake her from stem to stern. Finding, however, that he had not room for the evolution, and that the *Richard* would be on board of him, Captain Pearson put his helm a-lee which brought the two ships in a line ahead, and, the *Serapis* having lost her head-way by the attempted evolution, the *Richard* ran into her weather or larboard quarter. While in this position, neither ship being able to use her great guns, Jones attempted to board the *Serapis*, but was repulsed, when Captain Pearson hailed him, and asked, "Has your ship struck?" To which he at once returned the discouraging answer, "I have not yet begun to fight!"

Jones now backed his topsails, and the sails of the *Serapis* remaining full, the two ships separated. Immediately after, Pearson also laid his topsails aback, as he says in his offi-

cial report, to get square with the *Richard* again; Jones, at the same instant, filled away, which brought the two ships once more broadside and broadside. As he had already suffered greatly from the superior force of the *Serapis*, and from her being more manageable and a faster sailer than the *Richard*, which had several times given her the advantage in position, Jones now determined to lay his ship athwart the enemy's hawse; he accordingly put his helm up, but some of his braces being shot away, his sails had not their full power, and, the *Serapis* having stern-way, the *Richard* fell on board of her farther aft than Jones had intended. The *Serapis's* jib-boom hung her for a few minutes, when, carrying away, the two ships swung broadside and broadside, the muzzles of the guns touching each other. Jones sent Mr. Stacy, the acting master, to pass up the end of a hawser to lash the two ships together; and, while he was gone on this service, assisted with his own hand in making fast the jib-stay of the *Serapis* to the *Richard's* mizzen-mast. Accident, however, un-

known for the moment to either party, more effectually secured the two vessels together ; for, the anchor of the *Serapis* having hooked the quarter of the *Richard*, the two ships lay closely grappled. In order to escape from this close embrace, and recover the advantage of his superior sailing and force, Captain Pearson now let go an anchor, when the two ships tended round to the tide, which was setting towards Scarborough. The *Richard* being held by the anchor of the *Serapis*, and the yards being entangled fore and aft, they remained firmly grappled. This happened about half past eight, the engagement having already continued an hour.*

* As considerable difference will be observable between the account of this battle, given in Mr. Cooper's "Naval History" and the above, it is proper to state, that Mr. Cooper has followed Mr. Dale's description of the manœuvres antecedent to the ships' being grappled ; whilst, in the present account, more reliance has been placed on those of the two commanders, who directed the evolutions. Mr. Dale was stationed on the *Richard's* main deck, in a comparatively unfavorable position for observing the manœuvres. The evolution of boxhauling his ship, ascribed by Mr. Cooper to Captain Pearson, would, under the circumstances, have been highly unseamanlike.



8th Position. The two ships foul fore and aft; the *Serapis's* larboard anchor on the bottom, her starboard caught in the *Richard's* starboard quarter-port. So both ships remained until the close of the action.

7th Position. The *Richard* runs athwart hawse of the *Serapis*.

6th Position. The *Richard* fills her topsails, and the *Serapis* backs hers, which brings the two ships broadside and broadside.

5th Position. The *Richard* backs clear of the *Serapis*.

4th Position. The *Serapis*, not having room to cross the *Richard's* bow, luffs up, and the *Richard* runs into her quarter.

3d Position. The *Serapis* rakes the *Richard* and attempts to cross her bow.

2d Position. The *Serapis* passes to windward of the *Richard*.

1st Position. Battle begins at 7.30 P. M.

Meantime the firing had recommenced with fresh fury from the starboard sides of both vessels. The guns of either ship actually touched the sides of the other, and some of them being opposite the ports, the rammers entered those of the opposite ship when in the act of loading, and the guns were discharged into the side or into the open decks. The effect of this cannonade was terrible to both ships, and wherever it could be kept up in one ship, it was silenced in the other. Occasional skirmishing with pikes and pistols took place through the ports, but there does not appear to have been any concerted effort to board from the lower decks of the *Serapis*, which had the advantage below.

The *Richard* had already received several eighteen-pound shot between wind and water, causing her to leak badly; the main battery of twelve-pounders was silenced; as for the gun-room battery of six eighteen-pounders, we have seen, that two out of the three starboard ones burst at the first fire, killing most of their crews. During the whole action but eight shots were fired from this heavy battery,

the use of which was so much favored by the smoothness of the water. The bursting of these guns, and the destruction of the crew, with the partial blowing up of the deck above, so early in the action, were discouraging circumstances, which, with a less resolutely determined commander, might well have been decisive of the fate of the battle.

Colonel Chamillard, who was stationed on the poop, with a party of twenty marines, had already been driven from his post, with the loss of a number of his men, probably by the raking fire of the *Alliance*. This ship kept studiously aloof, and hovering about the *Palas* and *Countess of Scarborough*, until the latter struck, after half an hour's action, when Landais endeavoured to get information as to the force of the *Serapis*. He now ran down, under easy sail, to where the *Richard* and *Serapis* lay grappled. At about half past nine, he ranged up on the larboard quarter of the *Richard*, of course having the *Richard* between him and the *Serapis*; though the brightness of the moonlight, the greater height of the *Richard*, especially about the poop, and

the fact of her being painted entirely black, whilst the *Serapis* had a yellow streak, could have left no doubt as to her identity; moreover, the *Richard* displayed three lights, at the larboard bow, gangway, and stern, which was an appointed signal of recognition.

Landais now deliberately fired into the *Richard's* quarter, killing many of her men. Standing on, he ranged past her larboard bow, where he renewed his raking fire, with like fatal effect. To remove the chance of misconception, many voices cried out, that the *Alliance* was firing into the wrong ship; still the raking fire continued from her. Captain Pearson also suffered from this fire, as he states in his report to the Admiralty, but necessarily in a much less degree than the *Richard*, which lay between them. There is ample evidence of Landais having returned there several times to fire on the *Richard*, and always on the larboard side, or the opposite one to that on which the *Richard* was grappled with the *Serapis*.

While the fire of the *Serapis* was continued without intermission from the whole of her

lower-deck battery, the only guns that were still fired from the *Richard* were two nine-pounders on the quarter-deck, commanded by Mr. Mease, the purser. This officer having received a dangerous wound in the head, Jones took his place, and, having collected a few men, succeeded in shifting over one of the larboard guns; so that three guns were now kept playing on the enemy, and these were all that were fired from the *Richard* during the remainder of the action. One of these guns was served with double-headed shot and directed at the main mast, by Jones's command, whilst the other two were loaded with grape and canister, to clear the enemy's deck. In this service, great aid was rendered by the men stationed in the tops of the *Richard*, who, having cleared the tops of the *Serapis*, committed great havoc among the officers and crew upon her upper deck. Thus, while the action was carried on with decided advantage to the enemy on the lower decks, from which they might have boarded with a good prospect of success, as nearly the whole crew of the *Richard* had been driven from below by the

fire of the *Serapis*, and had collected on the upper deck,—above, it was equally in our favor. In addition to the destructive fire from the tops of the *Richard*, great damage was done by the hand-grenades thrown from her tops and yard-arms. The *Serapis* was set on fire as often as ten or twelve times in various parts, and the conflagration was only with the greatest exertions kept from becoming general.

About a quarter before ten, a hand-grenade, thrown by one of the *Richard's* men from the main-top of the *Serapis*, struck the combing of the main hatch, and, glancing inward upon the main deck, set fire to a cartridge of powder. Owing to mismanagement and defective training, the powder boys on this deck had brought up the cartridges from the magazine faster than they were used, and, instead of waiting for the loaders to receive and charge them, had laid them on the deck, where some of them were broken. The cartridge fired by the grenade now communicated to these, and the explosion spread from the main-mast aft on the starboard side, killing twenty men and

disabling every man there stationed at the guns, those who were not killed outright being left stripped of their clothes and scorched frightfully.

At this conjuncture, being about ten o'clock, the gunner and the carpenter of the *Richard*, who had been slightly wounded, became alarmed at the quantity of water which entered the ship through the shot-holes, which she had received between wind and water, and which, by her settling, had got below the surface. The carpenter expressed an apprehension that she would speedily sink, which the gunner mistaking for an assertion that she was actually sinking, ran aft on the poop to haul down the colors. Finding that the ensign was already down, in consequence of the staff having been shot away, the gunner set up the cry, "Quarter! for God's sake, quarter! Our ship is sinking!" which he continued until silenced by Jones, who threw at the recreant a pistol he had just discharged at the enemy, which fractured his skull, and sent him headlong down the hatchway. Captain Pearson, hearing the gunner's cry, asked Jones if he

called for quarter, to which, according to his own words, he replied "in the most determined negative." Captain Pearson now called away his boarders and sent them on board the *Richard*, but, when they reached her rail, they were met by Jones himself, at the head of a party of pikemen, and driven back. They immediately returned to their ship, followed by some of the *Richard's* men, all of whom were cut off.

About the same time that the gunner set up his cry for quarter, the master-at-arms, who had been in consultation with the gunner and the carpenter, in regard to the sinking condition of the ship, hearing the cry for quarter, proceeded, without orders from Jones, and either from treachery or the prompting of humane feelings, to release all the prisoners, amounting to more than a hundred. One of these, being the commander of the letter-of-marque *Union*, taken on the 31st of August, passed, with generous self-devotion, through the lower ports of the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, and, having reached the quarter-deck of the latter, informed Captain Pearson, that,

if he would hold out a little longer, the *Richard* must either strike or sink. He, moreover, informed him of the large number of prisoners who had been released with himself, in order to save their lives. Thus encouraged, the battle was renewed from the *Serapis* with fresh ardor.

The situation of Jones, at this moment, was indeed hopeless, beyond any thing that is recorded in the annals of naval warfare. In a sinking ship, with a battery silenced everywhere, except where he himself fought, more than a hundred prisoners at large in his ship, his consort, the *Alliance*, sailing round and raking him deliberately, his superior officers counselling surrender, whilst the inferior ones were setting up disheartening cries of fire and sinking, and calling loudly for quarter; the chieftain still stood undismayed. He immediately ordered the prisoners to the pumps, and took advantage of the panic they were in, with regard to the reported sinking of the ship, to keep them from conspiring to overcome the few efficient hands that remained of his crew. Meanwhile, the action was contin-

ued with the three light quarter-deck guns, under Jones's immediate inspection. In the moonlight, blended with the flames that ascended the rigging of the *Serapis*, the yellow main-mast presented a palpable mark, against which the guns were directed with double-headed shot. Soon after ten o'clock, the fire of the *Serapis* began to slacken, and at half past ten she struck.

Mr. Dale, the first lieutenant of the *Richard*, was now ordered on board the *Serapis*, to take charge of her. He was accompanied by Midshipman Mayrant and a party of boarders. Mr. Mayrant was run through the thigh with a boarding-pike, as he touched the deck of the *Serapis*, and three of the *Richard's* crew were killed after the *Serapis* had struck, by some of the crew of the latter who were ignorant of the surrender of their ship. Lieutenant Dale found Captain Pearson on the quarter-deck, and told him he was ordered to send him on board the *Richard*. It is a remarkable evidence of the strange character of this engagement, and the doubt which attended its result, that the first lieutenant of the *Se-*

rapis, who came upon deck at this moment, should have asked his commander, whether the ship alongside had struck. Lieutenant Dale immediately answered, "No, Sir! on the contrary, he has struck to us." The British lieutenant, like a true officer, repeated the question to his commander, "Have you struck, Sir?" Captain Pearson replied, "Yes, I have." The lieutenant replied, "I have nothing more to say," and was about to return below, when Mr. Dale informed him, that he must accompany Captain Pearson on board the *Richard*. The lieutenant rejoined, "If you will permit me to go below, I will silence the firing of the lower deck guns." This offer Mr. Dale very properly declined, and the two officers went on board the *Richard*, and surrendered themselves to Jones.

Pearson, who had risen, like Jones, from an humble station by his own bravery, but who was as inferior to Jones in courtesy, as he had proved himself in obstinacy of resistance, evinced from the first a characteristic surliness, which he maintained throughout the whole of his intercourse with his victor. In surrender-

ing he said, that it was painful for him to deliver up his sword to a man, who had fought with a halter round his neck. Jones did not forget himself, but replied, with a compliment, which, though addressed to Pearson, necessarily reverted to himself, "Sir! you have fought like a hero, and I make no doubt but your sovereign will reward you in a most ample manner."

As another evidence of the strange *mêlée* which attended this engagement, and of the discouraging circumstances under which the *Richard* fought, it may be mentioned, that eight or ten of her crew, who were of course Englishmen, got into a boat, which was towing astern of the *Serapis*, and escaped to Scarborough during the height of the engagement. This defection, together with the absence of the second lieutenant with fifteen of the best men, the loss of twenty-four men on the coast of Ireland, added to the number who had been sent away in prizes, reduced Jones's crew to a very small number, and greatly diminished his chance of success, which was due at length solely to his own indomitable courage.

Meantime, the fire, which was still kept up from the lower-deck guns of the *Serapis*, where the seamen were ignorant of the scene of surrender which had taken place above, was arrested by an order from Lieutenant Dale. The action had continued without cessation for three hours and a half. When it at length ceased, Jones got his ship clear of the *Serapis*, and made sail. As the two separated, after being so long locked in deadly struggle, the main-mast of the *Serapis*, which had been for some time tottering, and which had only been sustained by the interlocking of her yards with those of the *Richard*, went over the side with a tremendous crash, carrying the mizzen-topmast with it. Soon after, the *Serapis* cut her cable and followed the *Richard*.

The exertions of captors and captives were now necessary to extinguish the flames, which were raging furiously in both vessels. Its violence was greatest in the *Richard*, where it had been communicated below from the lower-deck guns of the *Serapis*. Every effort to subdue the flames seemed for a time.

to be unavailing. In one place they were raging very near the magazine, and Jones, at length, had all the powder taken out and brought on deck, in readiness to be thrown overboard. In this work the officers of the *Serapis* voluntarily assisted.

While the fire was raging in so terrifying a manner, the water was entering the ship in many places. The rudder had been cut entirely through, the transoms were driven in, and the rotten timbers of the old ship, from the main-mast aft, were shattered and almost entirely separated, as if the ship had been sawn through by ice ; so much so, that Jones says, that, towards the close of the action, the shot of the *Serapis* passed completely through the *Richard* ; and the stern-post and a few timbers alone prevented the stern from falling down on the gun-room deck. The water rushed in through all these apertures, so that, at the close of the action, there were already five feet of water in the hold. The spectacle, which the old ship presented the following morning, was dreadful beyond description. Jones says, in his official report, that "a per-

son must have been an eyewitness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck, and ruin, that everywhere appeared. Humanity cannot but recoil from the prospect of such finished horror, and lament that war should produce such fatal consequences."

Captain Pearson also notices, in his official letter to the Admiralty, the dreadful spectacle the *Richard* presented. He says, "On my going on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, I found her to be in the greatest distress; her counters and quarters on the lower deck entirely drove in, and the whole of her lower-deck guns dismounted; she was also on fire in two places, and six or seven feet water in her hold, which kept increasing upon them all night and the next day, till they were obliged to quit her, and she sunk with a great number of her wounded people on board her."* The regret which he must, at any rate, have felt in surrendering, must have been much augment-

* This was a mistake. Jones says, in his official letter; "No lives were lost with the ship, but it was impossible to save the stores of any sort whatever. I lost even the best part of my clothes, books, and papers; and several of my officers lost all their clothes and effects."

ed by these observations, and by what he must have seen of the motley composition of the *Richard's* crew.

On the morning after the action, a survey was held upon the *Poor Richard*, which was now, more than ever, entitled to her name. After a deliberate examination, the carpenters and other surveying officers were unanimously of opinion, that the ship could not be kept afloat, so as to reach a port, if the wind should increase. The task of removing the wounded was now commenced, and completed in the course of the night and following morning. The prisoners who had been taken in merchant ships were left until the wounded were all removed. Taking advantage of the confusion, and of their superiority of numbers, they took possession of the ship, and got her head in for the land, towards which the wind was now blowing. A contest ensued, and, as the Englishmen had few arms, they were speedily overcome. Two of them were shot dead, several wounded and driven overboard, and thirteen of them got possession of a boat and escaped to the shore.

Jones was very anxious to keep the *Richard* afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port, doubtless from the very justifiable vanity of showing how desperately he had fought her. In order to effect this object, he kept the first lieutenant of the *Pallas* on board of her, with a party of men to work the pumps, having boats in waiting to remove them, in the event of her sinking. During the night of the 24th, the wind had freshened, and still continued to freshen on the morning of the 25th, when all further efforts to save her were found unavailing. The water was running in and out of her ports, and swashing up her hatchways. About nine o'clock, it became necessary to abandon her, the water then being up to the lower deck; an hour later, she rolled as if losing her balance, and, settling forward, went down bows first, her stern and mizzen-mast being last seen. "A little after ten," says Jones in his report, "I saw, with inexpressible grief, the last glimpse of the *Bon Homme Richard*." The grief was a natural one, but far from being destitute of consolation; the closing scene of the *Poor Richard*, like the death

of Nelson on board the *Victory*, in the moment of winning a new title to the name, was indeed a glorious one. Her shattered shell afforded an honorable receptacle for the remains of the Americans, who had fallen during the action.

The best commentary that we can offer on the battle between the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, is to be found in the faithful narrative in which we have embodied all the facts that have been related with regard to it, from whatever source they can be derived. It is strongly corroborative of the truth of the various statements, that they do not, in any respect, differ materially from each other. In Sherburne's "Life of Paul Jones," we find a detailed statement of the relative force of the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, which, from its particularity, is doubtless correct. It, moreover, agrees with the relative rates of the two vessels, as given by their respective commanders. The *Richard* is called by Captain Pearson a forty-gun ship, while the *Serapis* is stated by the pilot, who described her to Jones when she was first made, to have been a forty-four.

Jones and Dale also give her the same rate. The *Richard*, as we have seen, mounted six eighteen-pounders in her gun-room, on her berth-deck, where port-holes had been opened near the water; fourteen twelve and fourteen nine-pounders on her main deck, and eight six-pounders on the quarter-deck, gangways, and forecastle. The weight of shot thrown by her, at a single broadside, would thus be two hundred and twenty-five pounds. With regard to her crew, she started from L'Orient with three hundred and eighty men. She had manned several prizes, which, with the desertion of the barge's crew on the coast of Ireland, and the absence of those who went in pursuit under the master, and never returned, together with the fifteen men sent away in the pilot boat, under the second lieutenant, just before the action, and who did not return until after it was over, reduced the crew, according to Jones's statement, to three hundred and forty men at its commencement. This calculation seems a very fair one; for, by taking the statement of those who had landed on the coast of Ireland, as given in a contempo-

rary English paper, at twenty-four, those who were absent in the pilot boat, being sixteen in number, and allowing five of the nine prizes taken by the *Richard*, to have been manned from her, with average crews of five men each, the total reduction from her original crew may be computed to be seventy men. Eight or ten more escaped, during the action, in a boat towing astern of the *Serapis*. To have had three hundred and forty men at the commencement of the action, as Jones states he had, he must have obtained recruits from the crews of his prizes.

In the muster-roll of the *Richard's* crew in the battle, as given by Mr. Sherburne, from an official source, we find only two hundred and twenty-seven names. This can hardly have been complete; still the document is interesting, inasmuch as it enumerates the killed and wounded by name, there being forty-two killed and forty wounded. It also states the country of most of the crew; by which it appears that there were seventy-one Americans, fifty-seven acknowledged Englishmen, twenty-one Portuguese, and the rest of the motley collec-

tion was made up of Swedes, Norwegians, Irish, and East-Indians. Many of those not named in this imperfect muster-roll, were probably Americans.

With regard to the *Serapis*, her battery consisted of twenty eighteens on the lower gun-deck, twenty nines on the upper gun-deck, and ten sixes on the quarter-deck and fore-castle. She had two complete batteries, and her construction was, in all respects, that of a line-of-battle ship. The weight of shot thrown by her single broadside was three hundred pounds, being seventy-five pounds more than that of the *Richard*. Her crew consisted of three hundred and twenty; all Englishmen, except fifteen Lascars, and, as such, superior to the motley and partially disaffected assemblage of the *Richard*. The superiority of the *Serapis*, in size and weight, as well as efficiency of battery, was, moreover, greatly increased by the strength of her construction. She was a new ship, built expressly for a man-of-war, and equipped in the most complete manner by the first of naval powers. The *Richard* was originally a merchantman,

worn out by long use and rotten from age. She was fitted, in a make-shift manner, with whatever refuse guns and materials could be hastily procured, at a small expense, from the limited means appropriated to her armament.

The overwhelming superiority thus possessed by the *Serapis*, was evident in the action. Two of the three lower-deck guns of the *Richard* burst at the first fire, scattering death on every side, whilst the guns of the *Serapis* remained serviceable during the whole action, and their effect on the decayed sides of the *Richard* was literally to tear her to pieces. On the contrary, the few light guns which continued to be used in the *Richard*, under the immediate direction of her commander, produced little impression on the hull of the *Serapis*. They were usefully directed to destroy her masts and clear her upper deck, which, with the aid of the destructive and well-sustained fire from the tops, was eventually effected. The achievement of the victory was, however, wholly and solely due to the immovable courage of Paul Jones. The *Richard* was beaten more than once; but the spirit of Jones could not be overcome. Captain

Pearson was a brave man, and well deserved the honor of knighthood, which awaited him on his arrival in England; but Paul Jones had a nature which never could have yielded. Had Pearson been equally indomitable, the *Richard*, if not boarded from below, would, at last, have gone down with her colors still flying in proud defiance.

The wounded of the *Serapis* appear, by the Surgeon's report, accompanying Captain Pearson's letter to the Admiralty, to have amounted to seventy-five men, eight of whom died of their wounds. Of the wounded, thirty-three are stated to have been "miserably scorched," doubtless by the explosion of the cartridges on the main deck. Captain Pearson states, that there were many more, both killed and wounded, than appeared on the list, but that he had been unable to ascertain their names; the list of killed on board the *Serapis* does not appear in the account published by Mr. Sherburne. Jones states the number of wounded on board the *Serapis* as more than a hundred, and that the killed were probably as numerous. The surviving prisoners, taken from the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scar-*

borough, amounted to three hundred and fifty ; the whole number of prisoners, including those previously taken from captured merchant vessels, amounted to near five hundred.

During the engagement between the *Richard* and the *Serapis*, the *Pallas*, commanded by Captain Cottineau, seems to have done her duty. She engaged the *Countess of Scarborough*, and captured her after an hour's close action. The *Pallas* was a frigate of thirty-two guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough* a single-decked ship, mounting twenty six-pounders. The *Alliance*, in the course of the night, also fired into the *Pallas* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, while engaged, and killed several of the *Pallas's* men. Subsequently to the engagement, it was attested by the mass of officers in the squadron, that about eight o'clock the *Alliance* raked the *Bon Homme Richard* with grape and cross-bar, killing a number of men, and dismounting several guns. He afterwards made sail for where the *Pallas* and the *Scarborough* were engaged, and, after hovering about until the latter struck, communicated by hailing with both vessels, and then stood back to the *Rich-*

ard, and, coming up on her larboard quarter, about half past nine, fired again into her; passing along her larboard beam, he then luffed up on her lee bow, and renewed his raking fire. It was proved, that the *Alliance* never passed on the larboard side of the *Serapis*, but always kept the *Richard* between her and the enemy. The officers of the *Richard* were of opinion that Landais's object was to kill Jones and disable his ship, so as afterwards to have himself an easy victory over the *Serapis*. As it was, he subsequently claimed the credit of the victory, on the plea of having raked the *Serapis*. There can be little doubt that he was actuated by jealous and treacherous feelings towards Jones, or by base timidity.* The *Vengeance* also behaved badly; neither she nor the *Alliance* made any prizes from among the fleet of merchantmen, and the whole escaped under cover of Flamborough head, and the adjacent harbours. Lieutenant Henry Lunt, who was ab-

* Several of these circumstances have a strange similarity to what has occurred in our own times, in the battle on Lake Erie, of which the writer proposes to treat at large, in a life of Commodore Perry.

sent in the pilot boat with fifteen of the *Richard's* best men, lay in sight of the *Richard*, during the action, but "thought it not prudent to go along side in time of action." His conduct at least involved a great error of judgment, which no doubt he lived to repent.

The conduct of Jones throughout this battle displayed great skill and the noblest heroism. He carried his ship into action in the most gallant style, and, while he commanded with ability, excited his followers by his personal example. We find him, in the course of the action, himself assisting to lash the ships together, aiding in the service of the only battery, from which a fire was still kept up, and, when the *Serapis* attempted to board, rushing, pike in hand, to meet and repel the assailants. No difficulties or perplexities seemed to appall him or disturb his judgment, and his courage and skill were equalled by his immovable self-composure. The achievement of this victory was solely due to his brilliant display of all the qualities essential to the formation of a great naval commander.

CHAPTER IX.

Damages of the *Serapis* repaired. — The Squadron steers for Dunkirk. — Jones's Colleagues run for the Texel. — The *Serapis* follows. — Arrival in the Texel. — The English Squadron appears off the Port. — The Squadron refits. — Jones visits Amsterdam. — His enthusiastic Reception. — Shows Himself on the Exchange. — His Appearance. — Sympathy of the Dutch for America. — The British Minister demands a Surrender of Jones and his Prizes. — Not complied with. — The Squadron allowed to refit. — Jones takes Possession of a Fort on the Texel, as a Hospital for the Wounded. — Agreement for an Exchange of Prisoners. — Franklin's Opinion of the Victory. — Arrest of Landais. — Charges against him. — Fights Captain Cottineau. — Challenges Jones. — Escapes to Paris. — Jones's Perplexities. — The Squadron ordered to depart. — The Prizes and French Ships hoist French Colors. — Jones removes to the Alliance. — Renewed Orders to depart. — Prisoners reëmbarked. — Part of them delivered to France.

WHEN Jones took command of the *Serapis*, he hastened to erect a jury main-mast and repair her damages. Having beheld the melancholy spectacle of the sinking of the *Poor Richard*, he shaped his course for Dunkirk, which port he was desirous of making, as the most favorable point for exchanging his prisoners, on account of its proximity to England. The squadron encountered contrary winds for ten days subsequent to the action. At length,

Jones's "colleagues," as he styles the captains under his command, insisted upon proceeding to the Texel, instead of beating up for Dunkirk, and actually bore away and left him to windward, which obliged him to follow.

Jones ascribes this and all the other insubordination, of which he was the victim, to the unfortunate "concordat," which M. Chaumont had induced him to sign in common with the other captains, and which substituted a species of joint agency for the principle of unquestioning obedience. The inferior commanders were, moreover, as Jones alleges, made acquainted, by M. Chaumont, with the destination, object, and proposed duration of the cruise. From this they learned that Jones had been ordered to terminate his cruise in the Texel, and were indisposed to allow him the exercise of his discretion in seeking first another port, for reasons which seemed good to him, but were not foreseen by Franklin, when the orders were given.

Submitting to this affront with the best grace that he was able, which was not a very good one, Jones bore away in pursuit of his

disorderly followers, and anchored on the 3d of October, in the Texel. As he entered the roads, an English squadron, consisting of a sixty-four and three frigates, which had arrived off Flamborough Head the day after he left it, and which had been ever since in pursuit of him, hove in sight. The Dutch commander in the roads objected to the entry of the squadron; but Jones insisted on running into the harbour and anchoring, pleading the necessities of his situation, as an excuse for taking the hospitality which was not voluntarily tendered to him. The British ships remained in the offing, blockading the port.

Having made arrangements for the immediate refittal of the *Serapis*, which required new spars and rigging nearly throughout, and for preparing the *Countess of Scarborough* to proceed to Dunkirk with the prisoners, if it should become necessary, Jones went to Amsterdam to take part in the negotiation likely to grow out of his entry into the port of a country in alliance with England, and to meet the remonstrances which the British Minister was sure to make against his claims to a hospitable reception.

The fame of his achievement, which had preceded him, and which spread far and wide throughout the civilized world, wherever heroism had admirers and England enemies, secured him a brilliant welcome to the commercial capital of Holland. The dismay and rage felt in England at finding her coasts again invaded by the ships of her former colonies, in defiance of her invincible fleets, and at the capture of one of her finest ships by an enemy of greatly inferior force, after an action unsurpassed for its sanguinary and desperate character, was only equalled by the exultation and sympathy everywhere felt among those who had so long quailed before British maritime power, and the despotic spirit with which it was exercised. If then the press of England gave way to unmeasured vituperation of the "pirate" who had defied her power, humbled her pride, and broken the charm of her invincibility on the ocean, that of Europe generally was as unmeasured in the eulogy, with which it welcomed the triumphant chieftain.

On the 7th of October, Jones arrived at

Amsterdam, and with characteristic and pardonable vanity, made his appearance at the Exchange. In a contemporary letter, published in a London newspaper of the day, he is described as being of middling stature, with a stern countenance, and swarthy, weather-worn complexion. He wore the continental uniform, picturesquely set off by a Scotch bonnet edged with gold, to give him more the air of a hero of romance. His reception was most enthusiastic; business is represented to have given way to lively interest and curiosity, and the crowd pressed round him with cheers and compliments, until he was compelled to withdraw to a room, fronting the public square, whence the anxiety of the multitude could be gratified by a sight of his person.

On the following day, the Commodore made a flying visit to the Hague, from which he returned the day after. Nor does it appear that he again visited the Court, though pressingly invited to do so by many distinguished persons, who were desirous of hospitably entertaining him, and offering him the homage of their admiration. "Duty," he replied to the

correspondent who had forwarded to him some invitations, "must take the precedence of pleasure. I must wait a more favorable opportunity to kiss the hands of the fair."

The enthusiasm awakened by the heroism of Jones was not merely gratifying to his own vanity. It rendered essential service to the country of his adoption, and the cause in which he was so heartily engaged. Holland was bound by treaties with England, somewhat compulsory perhaps, on her part, to make common cause with her against every enemy. The memory of her former naval, and her still existing commercial rivalry, must have made her hail with pleasure the discomfiture of her powerful ally. Naval stores and munitions of war, for the assistance of the United States, in their struggle for independence, had already been covertly shipped from Holland. She was already meditating an accession to the armed neutrality, against the blockades and naval assumptions of England, then maturing under the influence of Russia, and to which Holland became a party in the course of the following year. The citizens of Holland were

openly, and her government secretly, desirous of our success; from enmity to England, no less than from enthusiasm in favor of the generous cause in which we fought.

A treaty had already been secretly negotiated between Mr. Laurens and the Grand Pensionary of Amsterdam, the knowledge of which reached the British cabinet by the capture of Mr. Laurens. Among papers thrown overboard by him, previous to his capture, but recovered from the water, was a copy of the treaty. This awakened the attention of the British government to what was passing in Holland. Its able minister at the Hague, Sir Joseph Yorke, was instructed to watch the movements of the court narrowly, and exact the rigorous fulfilment of its treaties. With this view, he addressed the government on the 9th of October, communicating the fact, that two of the King's ships, the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough* had arrived in the Texel a few days before, "having been attacked and taken by force, by a certain Paul Jones, a subject of the King, who, according to treaties and the laws of war, can only be

considered as a rebel and a pirate." Sir Joseph Yorke accordingly demanded that immediate orders should be given for the arrest of the ships, with their officers and crews. He also solicited that the wounded Englishmen might be landed, to be cured at the expense of England.

The government of Holland was of course greatly embarrassed by this demand, and by the conflict which it occasioned between their treaty obligations to England, and their strong sympathies in the success of our cause. Franklin is said to have had a double object in ordering Jones to terminate his cruise at the Texel: in the first place, to get out the *Indien*, the command of which he still hoped to secure for Jones; and, in the second, to involve Holland in a difficulty with England, growing out of the hospitality to be afforded to our flag, and thus to increase the chances of an open declaration in our favor. The result showed his characteristic sagacity. When war was eventually declared by England against Holland, the chief complaint against Holland, set forth in the manifesto, was the hospitality

which she had extended to the American squadron and its prizes ; suffering “an American pirate to remain, several weeks, in one of her ports, and even permitting part of his crew to mount guard in a fort on the Texel.” It was not until the 25th, that the Dutch government replied to Sir Joseph, informing him that Holland had, for a century, strictly abstained from deciding as to the legality of the captures of vessels brought into her ports. She simply opened her ports to give shelter to captors and their prizes, from storms or disasters, and obliged them to put to sea without unloading. The government declined passing any judgment either upon Paul Jones or the legality of his captures. It had, however, already evinced its willingness to discharge the offices of humanity, by the orders it had given with regard to the wounded prisoners. The States-General had previously deliberated on the subject, and, after consultation with the courts of Admiralty, decided to suffer the ships to make such repairs as were actually necessary for their putting to sea ; also to land the wounded for their recovery. They de-

clined all responsibility for the escape of the prisoners, the care of whom was thus relinquished to the captors, instead of their being placed in the hands of Sir Joseph Yorke, in conformity with his demand.

By virtue of an order from the Prince of Orange, the Commodore now removed his wounded to a fort on the Texel. He had authority to place sentinels to guard his prisoners, and to raise the drawbridge over the ditch, at his pleasure, for their greater security. He completed his arrangements for their safe keeping, by appointing Lieutenant-Colonel Weibert to the command of the hospital, and of the troops stationed for the care of the prisoners. About the same time, he secured himself still further against the chances of desertion among his prisoners, and set wholly at rest the question of his property in them, hitherto contested by Sir Joseph Yorke, by entering into an agreement with Captain Pearson, for the exchange of all his prisoners, amounting to five hundred and four, for an equal number of Americans; and it was agreed between the contracting parties, that all the pris-

oners landed in the fort should be considered as such until their regular exchange ; so that in the event of any of them deserting, an equal number of Americans should be released in England, and sent to France by the first cartel.

Of all the sympathy and admiration which Jones's achievement excited far and wide, and among all the congratulatory epistles which it called forth, the dearest to his heart, as well as the most honorable to his reputation, was that of Franklin. The sage wrote to him as follows ; " For some days after the arrival of your express, scarce any thing was talked of at Paris and Versailles, but your cool conduct, and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that of others ; but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion."

He subsequently adds ; " I am uneasy about your prisoners ; I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the

Americans that have so long languished for it, in the British prisons; for there are not so many there, as you have now taken." This passage must have been peculiarly gratifying to Jones. From the outset of his cruise in the *Ranger*, it had been a favorite object with him to procure the release of all the American prisoners in England, by capturing Englishmen. It was this, which suggested the project of seizing the person of Lord Selkirk; and which was the source of the greatest gratification to him, in the capture of the *Drake*. By his last cruise, he had, at length, prepared the completion of the humane task which he had assigned to himself, and Franklin's letter gave him the gratifying assurance that "the glorious work" was about to be accomplished.

Many of his letters of this period evinced a lively interest in the fate of a Captain Cunningham, whom he supposed to be a continental officer, but who was probably the captain of a privateer, at that time a prisoner in England. Jones was desirous of exchanging Captain Pearson for him, and this he had the

satisfaction eventually to effect. Some complaint had been made by Captain Pearson to Jones, of a want of attention to the comforts of his men, and of courtesy to himself. In the course of his reply, Jones, after having vindicated himself from the charges, goes on to say ; " I know not what difference of respect is due to rank, between your service and ours ; I suppose, however, the difference must be very great in England, since I am informed that Captain Cunningham, who bears a senior rank, in the service of America, to yours in the service of England, is now confined at Plymouth, in a dungeon and in fetters." The interest taken by Jones in the fate of Captain Cunningham, and of the American prisoners in England generally, the whole of whom it was his proud work to have been the means of releasing, is conclusive as to the eminently humane feelings by which he was characterized. His bravery was both equalled and adorned by his sympathetic humanity for the sufferings of his fellow-men.

With regard to Captain Pearson, so far from having any just motive of complaint against

the Commodore for failing in courtesy to him, he was himself grossly rude to Jones throughout the whole of his intercourse with him, and invariably repelled all his efforts to soothe his irritation, and treat him with civility. Captain Pearson had a large quantity of plate on board the *Serapis*, of which Jones, having lost all his own in the *Richard*, necessarily made use until he could replace his furniture. Pearson had been allowed to go on parole to the Helder with his officers. Jones now had all the plate, arms, and effects of every description, belonging to Captain Pearson, packed and sent to him by a lieutenant, with his polite compliments. Pearson rudely replied that he could receive nothing from the hands of a rebel. He intimated, however, that if his plate were offered to him by Captain Cottineau, who was an officer of the French King, it would be received. Jones magnanimously overlooked this intolerable insolence and caprice, and sent the plate in the form which had been pointed out. It was received without one word of thanks or compliments to the generous victor.

In reply to the complaint which Paul Jones had made, in his official report, of the conduct of Landais, during the cruise generally, and especially during the engagement with the *Serapis*, Franklin testified his strongest displeasure, as well as that of the French court, at the behaviour of this miserable man. He directed that he should be sent to Paris, in reality to get him out of the way, but ostensibly with the view of furnishing him an opportunity of offering what he had to say in his justification, as it was not then convenient to order a court for his trial. Jones was instructed, at the same time, to furnish a list of the charges alleged against him, together with the evidence in support of them, that Franklin might be able to give a just account of his conduct to Congress. In the event of his failing to obey Franklin's order to repair to Paris, Jones was directed to arrest him.

In the mean time, Landais, instead of being overwhelmed with shame at his own baseness, put himself forward as the hero of the engagement with the *Serapis*, and insisted that his raking fire had caused her to surrender, though

ample evidence existed, that it could only have reached her through the sides of the *Richard*. He, moreover, affected a perfect independence of Jones, and made requisitions for supplies, without consulting him. After figuring as a hero, at Amsterdam, he made his appearance at the Hague, with the same object of self-glorification, when he was arrested in mid-career, by Franklin's summons to Paris. The charges against him, required by Franklin, were presently forwarded. They were not drawn up in the name of Jones, but began as follows; "We, the officers of the American squadron, now at the Texel, this thirtieth day of October, 1779, do attest and declare upon our words of honor, as gentlemen, that all the following articles, which we subscribe, respecting the conduct of Peter Landais, Captain of the Frigate *Alliance*, are really and truly matters of fact. In witness whereof we hereunto sign our names and qualities; and will, at any time hereafter, be ready to prove the same upon oath if required."

The charges stated, among other things, that

Landais had behaved with disrespect and impertinence to the commander-in-chief of the squadron, on many occasions ; that he had disobeyed the signals ; that he very seldom answered them ; that he purposely separated from the squadron on two occasions ; that when the *Bon Homme Richard* came in sight of the *Alliance* and *Pallas*, off Flamborough Head, Landais told Captain Cottineau, that if the sail proved a fifty-gun ship, they must run away, though he must have been sure that the *Pallas*, from her dull sailing, would be captured ; that, though a long way ahead, when running down for the Baltic fleet, Landais lay out of gun-shot to windward, and allowed the *Richard* to pass into action ; that, an hour after the action between the *Richard* and the *Serapis* had commenced, the *Alliance* raked the *Richard* with cross-bar and grape shot, and killed a number of her men ; that, after an absence of two hours, she returned again, and fired a whole broadside into the *Richard's* quarter, being then not more than three points abaft the *Richard's* beam ; and that, soon after, the *Alliance* crossed the

Richard's bow and repeated a third time her fire upon the *Richard* ; that the *Alliance* never passed on the off-side of the *Serapis*, and that the *Serapis* could not bring a single gun to bear on the *Alliance* during the engagement ; and that Captain Landais had acknowledged, since the battle, that he would have thought it no harm if the *Richard* had struck, for it would have given him an opportunity to retake her, and to take the *Serapis*.

This fearful amount of testimony, and more to the same effect, was subscribed by no fewer than nineteen officers of the different ships, each testifying to the truth of the particular facts which had fallen under his observation, and many of them accompanied their affidavits with detailed statements of what they had individually seen. The first lieutenant, master, and master's mate of the *Alliance* testified to the conclusive fact, that the *Alliance* had never been on any other side of the *Serapis* than that on which the *Richard* lay, or once in a situation to be fired on by the *Serapis* ; and also, that the crew of the *Alliance* repeatedly told Captain Landais that

he was firing on the wrong ship; and some of them refused to fire. Several of the officers expressed the firm conviction that Landais's object must have been to kill Jones, and distress the *Richard*, so as to compel her to strike, and afterwards recapture her and take the *Serapis*; others attributed his conduct either to the same motive or to cowardice. Mr. Mease sums up his evidence by saying, "The behaviour of our consorts upon this day was very mysterious; but that of Captain Landais was of such a cast, as, in my opinion, must unavoidably announce him to the public as a man devoid of conduct, a man of infamous principles, or a rank coward." Before Landais disappeared from the scene, he contrived to vary his eccentricities, and vindicate his claim to one sort of courage, by a duel with Captain Cottineau. They had disagreed on the cruise, and Landais doubtless found cause of offence in Cottineau's testimony against him. Landais was the challenger. They met on the Helder island, with small swords. Landais was a thorough master of his weapon, and succeeded in badly wounding

his far worthier antagonist. Being in the mood, he now sent a similar invitation to the Commodore, who replied by sending officers to arrest him. Upon this Landais made his escape, and proceeded to Paris in fulfilment of Dr. Franklin's order.

Having thus, for the present, got rid of the traitorous coadjutor who had so long harassed him, and so sensibly impeded his services in the cause of his country, the situation of Jones was still surrounded with annoyance and difficulty. The combined French and Spanish fleets had now returned to Brest, and the British cruisers were at liberty to blockade Jones in the Texel, and beset his track in every direction, even if he should succeed in eluding the blockade. The Dutch government was unceasing in its demands upon him to hasten to sea, and the Prince of Orange, who was under the influence of the British minister, and who did not share the sympathy of the Dutch people on behalf of Jones, continued to harass him with constant injunctions to depart. Finding that the officer, who commanded the Dutch ships in the Texel

roads, was disposed to be too indulgent, the Prince of Orange superseded him, and appointed Vice-Admiral Reynst to take his place, and use every exertion in driving the Americans to sea; thirteen men-of-war, anchored in the Texel, were placed under his orders for this purpose.

To increase the obstacles in the way of the equipment of the ships, the weather proved very bad, and repeated gales of wind prevented them from communicating with the shore. On the 4th of November, Jones wrote to the Duc de Vauguyon, French minister at the Hague, who, being the agent of the French King, as owner of all the ships except the *Alliance*, took an interest in, and exercised, in connexion with Franklin, a control over, all his proceedings, that he had been waiting a fortnight for the water which was to have been sent to him from Amsterdam in tanks, and that at the end of that time he was informed, that it could only be procured by his sending up his own casks; the provisions, too, that had been ordered on the 9th of October, had not yet arrived, the spars sent from Amsterdam

had been spoiled in the making, and none of the iron work for the *Serapis* had been yet completed, so that he was now without hinges to hang the lower-deck ports. The bread which was sent twice a week from Amsterdam, he said, was of so bad a quality that his men were absolutely falling ill from the use of it. Most of his officers and men had lost their clothes and bedding in the *Bon Homme Richard*, and these articles had not yet been replaced. In addition to so many motives for discontent among the men, he was unable to assure them that their property in the prizes would be made good, should they be lost or captured in proceeding to France before their sale. He begged the minister to authorize him to assure the men, that, at all hazards, they should not lose their prize money, and that they should soon receive a supply of clothes and bedding, or money to purchase them, in which case he hoped to be able to restore them to good humor.

In the mean time, Sir Joseph Yorke, having failed in his efforts to induce the Dutch government to detain the *Serapis* and *Countess*

of Scarborough, together with their crews, as illegal captures, for want of being made by vessels having proper commissions granted by a sovereign power ; and having equally failed in his attempt to get possession of the person of the pirate Paul Jones, which last purpose he is said to have attempted to effect, after failing with the government, by instigating the magistrates of Amsterdam and even private individuals to lay hands on him ; endeavoured by every means, to force the American squadron at once to sea, that it might fall into the hands of the blockaders. By his unremitting exertions, aided by the influence of the court, he procured a resolution to be passed by the States-General, on the 19th of November, in which they disavowed any intention of recognising the independence of the American Colonies, thereby disavowing the treaty which had been signed by the authorities of the city of Amsterdam ; whilst they still refused to pass upon the legality of the captures of the ships brought into their port by the American squadron, they insisted that they had proved their unwillingness to render

aid to the captors, by ordering that they should be furnished with no munitions of war, nor other articles, except such as were indispensable to their putting to sea; they expressed their readiness even to compel them to sail, so soon as they could keep the sea, and the wind should permit, and, in consequence, directed the Admiralty college of Amsterdam to advise the American commander, that, as the approaching season of winter would make his departure inconvenient, it was necessary that he should seize the first opportunity of sailing. They stated that such was their serious intention, and required the Prince of Orange to order the officer, commanding in the Texel, to permit no delay, and even to use force, if necessary, to compel the departure of the squadron.

The French government, having knowledge of the turn that the affair was likely to take, had prepared, in the mean time, to save the King's property from almost certain capture, by covering it with its own recognised flag, to which Holland could not refuse a more prolonged hospitality. In order to be

beforehand with this measure when it was seen to be unavoidable, the French Minister of Marine had addressed a letter to Dr. Franklin, informing him that "circumstances require that the expedition of the squadron, under the orders of Mr. Jones, should terminate in the Texel. It seems indispensable to give a new destination to the different ships which compose it. You are at liberty, Sir, to dispose of the American frigate, the *Alliance*, according to the views you may entertain in relation to the service of the United States. I pray you only to observe to Mr. Jones, or any other officer to whom you may intrust the command, that he must not have any subject of the King on board that frigate."

The French Ambassador at the Hague received instructions with regard to this measure on the 12th of November, and immediately sent orders to Jones through Mr. Dumas, the American agent, to suspend the sailing of the squadron, but to lose no time in completing the preparations for departure. It does not appear from this message that Jones was immediately made aware of the sudden

reduction of his command, which had been determined on, and of his contemplated removal from the noble ship which his courage had won. He could not, however, have been long kept in ignorance of it, as Franklin's order, dated the 15th, to deliver up to the Ambassador, all the ships belonging to the French King, together with his prizes and the prisoners taken in them, must soon have arrived. In obedience to this order, Jones assumed the command of the *Alliance*, whilst that of the *Serapis* was conferred on Captain Cottineau of the *Pallas*. The exchange was effected silently, in the dead of night. Jones parted with the *Serapis* with infinite reluctance. He considered her the finest ship of her class that he had ever seen ; she was, moreover, a proud trophy of his valor, and as such he felt that he was abandoning what was eminently his own.

The change to the *Alliance*, too, in the state in which she then was, he represents as "most disagreeable and mortifying." She was, in point of model and construction, an admirable ship, being of perfect beauty, and unsurpassed

for her sailing qualities. But the madness and imbecility of Landais, had reduced her to a miserable condition. Whilst Jones's exertions had resulted in the complete equipment of the *Serapis*, he found the *Alliance* in a wretched state of disorganization. Her sails and cables had been destroyed by negligence ; the officers and men were lazy, intemperate, and insubordinate, and epidemical diseases, brought on by want of cleanliness and order, prevailed among the crew ; her battery and small arms were out of order, and the powder had become damaged by leakage or want of turning. From the stores and armament of the *Serapis*, Jones was, however, able to supply the principal deficiencies, and was soon in a condition to put to sea.

While these preparations were going on, our hero was not even allowed the seaman's comfort of a growl at the hardship of his case, and the little ceremony with which he had been treated. It was probably the policy of the French court to prolong the stay of the squadron as much as possible under the American flag, which the ships must have contin-

ued for some time to wear ; for we find the Dutch Admiral still unremitting in his urgent demands for the sailing of the squadron, accompanied by threats of appealing to force to compel it. On one occasion he sent his flag-captain to the ships of the squadron, to read aloud a proclamation for them to depart, and in a few days after, with a still more urgent message. Jones now announced his readiness to depart, whenever he should have a leading breeze. On this last occasion, when the flag-captain visited the *Serapis*, to go through the formula of his warning to depart, he was informed that she was no longer under the command of Paul Jones ; but that Captain de Cotineau de Kloguene had taken possession of her in the name of the King of France. The French flag was also displayed on board of the prizes, and of all the ships of the squadron except the *Alliance*, which alone continued to wear the American flag. The Dutch Admiral being somewhat astounded at this unexpected intelligence, appealed to the Prince of Orange for fresh instructions, and was directed by him not to proceed any farther with regard to

those of the vessels whose commanders exhibited French commissions, but to carry out his previous instructions, so far as the *Alliance* was concerned. He, at the same time, charged him not to allow any of the prisoners still in the fort to be carried on board the *Alliance*.

Notwithstanding this order, Jones persisted in embarking all his surviving wounded prisoners from the fort, and withdrew his garrison. His motive for doing so, notwithstanding the instructions of Franklin, consequent upon an agreement between him and the French Minister, was the convention that he had entered into with Captain Pearson, for the exchange of these particular prisoners. He had effected the exchange of Captain Pearson for Captain Cunningham, whom he now had the pleasure to receive on board his ship, and had still one hundred prisoners, whom he was determined to keep to be exchanged for the Americans, whom Captain Pearson had stipulated to have liberated. The rest of his prisoners, confined on board the prizes, he, with great regret, relinquished to the French

Ambassador ; for his humane desire to be the means of liberating Americans made him value his prisoners more even than his prizes. The result was, that the prisoners delivered to the French Ambassador were exchanged at the Texel for Frenchmen, France agreeing to return an equal number of Englishmen, at a more convenient point, to be exchanged for Americans.

The British government did not sanction the convention entered into between Jones and Pearson, for an exchange of prisoners ; because they hoped to recapture them on the passage of the squadron to France. Out of this danger of recapture grew the expediency of transferring the prisoners to France. Jones does not seem, by his correspondence, to have been entirely aware of the object of the transfer, or he would scarcely have insisted upon carrying away so many as a hundred prisoners, including the wounded who had been landed, notwithstanding the agreement made between the French government and Dr. Franklin, and the express orders of the latter. He seems, on this and other occasions, to have disliked

his instructions, and to have obeyed them unwillingly, from a want of clearly appreciating the motives for which they were given. His self-will was, however, fortunate on this occasion, as France never completely fulfilled her engagement to return an equal number of prisoners.

CHAPTER X.

Dissatisfaction of Paul Jones. — Contemplates returning to America. — Is offered a French Privateer's Commission. — Rejects it with Disdain. — Is ready for Sea. — Refuses to hoist French Colors. — Receives a soothing Letter from the French Ambassador. — His Anger appeased. — The Alliance sails. — Finds the Coast clear of Blockaders. — Passes the Downs and Straits of Dover. — New Year's Day. — Verses to a Lady. — The Alliance sails badly. — Singular Arrangement of Ballast. — Goes into Corunna. — Mutinous Disposition of the Crew. — Makes a short Cruise. — Enters L'Orient. — Jones's Health impaired.

ON the 1st of December, the *Alliance* was ready for sea, whenever the wind should become favorable. It continued, however, ahead, with heavy gales, until nearly the close of the month, and Jones, deprived of his squadron, his prizes, and most of his prisoners, lying under the guns of the Dutch fleet, drawn up in battle array to drive him out of the port, whilst twelve sail of British cruisers lay in the offing ready to capture him, was in a fit mood to dwell on whatever was painful in the history of his life, and to sum up all the disappointments and mortifications of which his ardent spirit had been the victim. Disgusted with the court of France, wearied with

the way in which it had so long deluded him with the prospect of a formidable command, after it had formally invited him to give up the *Ranger*, and seeing in its recent withdrawal of his squadron and prizes, less a motive of state policy than a studied injury to himself, he began to look with satisfaction to the prospect of returning to the United States. In a letter, of the 5th of December, to Robert Morris, he says, "I am persuaded you will observe with pleasure, that my connexion with a court is at an end, and that my prospect of returning to America approaches. The great seem to wish only to be concerned with tools, who dare not speak or write truth. I am not sorry that my connexion with them is at an end. In the course of that connexion, I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonor, for one of reputation; and all the honors or profit, that France could bestow, should not tempt me again to undertake the same service with an armament equally ill-composed, and with powers equally limited." With this letter he forwarded a memorial to Congress, termed by him a "refreshing me-

morial," recapitulating the nature of his services in the cause of Independence, and complaining of the imperfect manner in which those services had been requited. He dwelt particularly, and with reason, upon the injustice which had been done to him by the line of rank established on the 10th of October, 1776.

The detention of the *Alliance* in the Texel not only afforded Jones time to brood over his disgusts, and aggravate them by his morbid sensibility to neglect, whether real or imaginary, but also exposed him to an affront, which he felt more deeply and resented more indignantly, than any that he had yet received. This was the offer from M. de Sartine, through the Duke de la Vauguyon, of a French commission to command the *Alliance*, as a letter-of-marque. In disdainfully rejecting this insulting proposition, Jones expressed himself in such unmeasured language as, doubtless, greatly relieved him. The following passages are taken from his reply to the Duke; "Perhaps there are many men in the world who would esteem as an honor the commission that I have this day refused. My rank, from

the beginning, knew no superior in the marine of America; how then must I be humbled were I to accept a letter-of-marque! I should, my lord, esteem myself inexcusable, were I to accept even a commission of equal or superior denomination to that I bear, unless I were previously authorized by Congress, or some other competent authority in Europe."

"It is a matter of the highest astonishment to me, that, after so many compliments and fair professions, the court should offer the present insult to my understanding, and suppose me capable of disgracing my present commission. I confess that I never merited all the praise bestowed on my past conduct, but I also feel that I have far less merited such a reward. Where profession and practice are so opposite, I am no longer weak enough to form a wrong conclusion. They may think as they please of me; for where I cannot continue my esteem, praise or censure from any man is to me a matter of indifference. I am much obliged to them, however, for having, at last, fairly opened my eyes, and enabled me to discover truth from falsehood. While I re-

mained eight months, seemingly forgot by the Court at Brest, many commissions, such as that in question, were offered to me; and I believe when I am in pursuit of plunder, I can still obtain such an one without application to court."

Jones immediately enclosed a copy of this letter to Franklin, to whom he always unbosomed himself in his troubles; and wrote to him in the following strain, expressing himself in no very elegant terms of the time-serving, promise-making, and promise-breaking M. de Sartine: "I hope the within copy of my letter to the Duke de la Vauguyon will meet your approbation; for I am persuaded that it never could be your intention or wish that I should be made the tool of any great rascal whatever; or that the commission of America should be overlaid by the dirty piece of parchment which I have this day rejected! They have played upon my good humor too long already; but the spell is at last dissolved. They would play me off with assurances of the personal and particular esteem of the King, to induce me to do what would render

me contemptible, even in the eyes of my own servants. Accustomed to speak untruths themselves, they would also have me to give under my hand that I am a liar and a scoundrel. They are mistaken, and I would tell them what you did to your naughty servant; 'We have too contemptible an opinion of each other's understanding to live together.'"

In the same letter, Jones announced his determination to depart with the first wind, notwithstanding the presence of the British Squadron off the Texel. He expressed the hope that he had recovered the trim of the *Alliance*, which had been entirely lost by Landais, and that the length of the nights at that season, in those high latitudes, would enable him to elude all pursuit; at any rate, he promised that the *Alliance* should not be given away. She was well manned, having four hundred and twenty-seven souls on board, nearly all Americans, and he had every confidence, not only that he should keep her, but that he should make some prizes and add to the number of his prisoners, before his arrival at L'Orient. At this time he constantly im-

pressed on his officers and crew, that the *Alliance* was a match for any British ship, not mounting more than fifty guns.

While still wind-bound, the Dutch Admiral sent Jones a message, on the 16th of December, requesting him to come on board of his ship; which he declined doing. On the following day the Admiral wrote to him, asking to be informed whether the *Alliance* was a French or an American vessel; if the first, the Admiral expected him to show his commission, and display the French ensign and pendant, announcing it by firing a gun; if an American, that he should lose no occasion to depart. At the same time, the Chevalier de Lironcourt, the French Commissary of Marine at Amsterdam, urged Jones to satisfy all parties by hoisting French colors, and assured him that the commission that had been offered him was only intended for the exigency, and was not offered him with any idea of wounding him. Jones, however, still refused to wear any other than the American flag, and sent word to the Admiral, that under that flag he should proceed to sea, whenever the pilot would under-

take to carry the ship out. At the same time he took occasion to express to the Admiral's flag-captain, his indignant sense of the daily threats and annoyances of every sort to which he had been subjected, and begged him to say to his chief, that though the ship which bore his flag was a sixty-four, if she and the *Alliance* were at sea together, the Admiral's insults and menaces would not be for a moment tolerated. From this time until the *Alliance's* departure, no further messages were received from the Admiral.

Before the wind became fair, Jones received from the Duke de la Vauguyon, in answer to his abrupt epistle, the following mollifying communication, filled with abundance of cheap promises, which were never performed, but which had, at least, the effect to send him away in a somewhat better humor. "I perceive with pain, my dear Commodore, that you do not view your situation in the right light. I can assure you that the ministers of the King have no intention to cause you the least disagreeable feelings, as the honorable testimonials of the esteem of his majesty,

which I send you, ought to convince you. I hope you will not doubt the sincere desire with which you have inspired me to procure you every satisfaction you merit. It cannot fail to excite you to give new proofs of your zeal for the common cause of France and America. I flatter myself that I shall be able, before long, to provide you the means of increasing, still more, the glory you have already acquired. I am already exerting all the interest I promised you ; and if my views are realized, as I have every reason to hope, you will have reason to be perfectly content, but I must beseech you not to impede my efforts, by indulging in the expression of those strong sensations to which you appear to give way, and for which there is really no foundation. You appear to possess full confidence in the justice and kindness of the King ; rely upon the same sentiments on the part of his ministers."

That Jones was softened by this communication is evident from the first sentence of his reply ; "I have not a heart of stone, but am duly sensible of the obligations conferred on me by the very kind and affectionate letter

that you have done me the honor to write to me." He, however, did not retract his complaints of the treatment which he had received, but repeated them. He mentioned, moreover, that the Chevalier de Lironcourt had recently reproached him with the expense that France had been at to give him reputation in preference to twenty captains of the French navy, far better qualified, who had solicited the command which had been conferred upon him. The fact is indicative of the jealousy which Jones's position had awakened among the French officers, and accounts very satisfactorily for the insubordinate spirit of his "colleagues," while it shows how much better would have been his chance for achieving fame, had he sought it in a single well-equipped American ship.

At length, on the morning of the 27th of December, Jones had the satisfaction of announcing himself at sea in the *Alliance*; whence he wrote to Mr. Dumas, by the pilot, as follows; "I am here, my dear Sir, with a good wind at east, and under my best American colors; so far you have your wish.

What may be the event of this critical movement, I know not ; I am not, however, without good hopes. Through the ignorance or drunkenness of the old pilot, the *Alliance* last night got foul of a Dutch merchant ship, and I believe the Dutchmen cut our cable. We lost the best bower anchor, and the ship was brought up with the sheet anchor, so near the shore, that this morning I have been obliged to cut the cable in order to get clear of the shore, and that I might not lose this opportunity of escaping from purgatory."

Shortly before the departure of Jones, there had been eight British ships cruising off the southern entrance of the Texel, and four more off the northern. It appears from a despatch of Jones to Congress, that no fewer than forty sail, consisting of ships of the line and frigates, had been stationed to intercept him. Two out of the number, he says, were wrecked. The number is doubtless exaggerated ; though it is known from the English papers, that sixteen sail of men-of-war were already in pursuit of him, previous to his capture of the *Serapis*. In one of his interviews with

the Dutch Admiral, in which he had been urged to depart, Jones had told him, with something of the boasting which belonged to his character, that he was unable to fight more than three times his force, though he was ready to depart whenever there was a possibility of getting clear. Fortunately for him, he was not called upon to encounter even the modest allowance of enemies, for which he professed his willingness to compound. The gales which he experienced immediately before his departure, and which had even endangered the *Alliance*, at her moorings in the Texel roads, probably drove the blockaders to a distance. At any rate, he was able to dash out under his "best American colors," which the effort that had been made to compel him to substitute French colors for them, made him still prouder to display. The *Alliance* bore away along the coast, the moment she was clear of the mouth of the harbour; and, keeping as close in with the Flemish banks, which formed the weather shore, as safety would allow, she thus got to windward of the British fleet, stationed in the North sea for her inter-

ception. Favored by the strong east wind, she the next day passed through the Straits of Dover, with her colors set, running close to the Goodwin Sands, in full view of the fleet anchored in the Downs, only three or four miles to leeward. On the following day, being the 29th, she ran past the Isle of Wight, near enough to reconnoitre the fleet at Spithead, still showing her colors. On the 1st of January, 1780, she was fairly out of the channel, having passed in sight to windward of several British two-deckers, which were doubtless on the look out for her, but which she had the good fortune to evade.

Having thus escaped from the "purgatory" of his tortures in the Texel, and the manifold dangers from capture which seemed to him so much less formidable, and finding himself once more on the open ocean of adventure, with a staggering breeze, in the beautiful *Alliance*, Jones was in a mood to welcome the new year with cheerful exultation, and the delusive hope that it would be freer from annoyance and perplexity than the last, though it could not be more glorious. His feelings

broke forth into poetry, a mode of expression in which, in his moments of leisure, when addressing the fair, he sometimes indulged. While in the *Texel*, the daughter of Mr. Dumas, partaking of the enthusiasm of her father and of society generally, had offered the homage of her muse to the victorious chieftain. It had occasioned him much self-reproach that his unremitting occupations, in fitting out his ships and maintaining his stand against the pretensions of Sir Joseph Yorke, the threats of the Dutch Admiral, and the mortifications inflicted upon him by his French friends, had prevented him from responding in fit terms to the compliment of his gentle correspondent. Remembering that it was better for him to acquit himself, at this late period, of his obligation as a man of gallantry, than to omit doing so altogether, he now perpetrated the following verses, which, though not the best that are found among his papers, are far from being discreditable to a rude "sea king," as the lady seems, in her verses, to have styled him. They are dated off *Ushant*, on the 1st of January, 1780.

“ Were I, Paul Jones, dear maid, ‘the king of sea,’
I find such merit in thy virgin song,
A coral crown with bays I’d give to thee,
A car which on the waves should smoothly glide along;
The Nereides all about thy side should wait,
And gladly sing in triumph of thy state,
‘*Vivat! vivat!* the happy virgin muse!
Of liberty the friend, who tyrant power pursues!’

“ Or, happier lot! were fair Columbia free
From British tyranny, and youth still mine,
I’d tell a tender tale to one like thee
With artless looks and breast as pure as thine.
If she approved my flame, distrust apart,
Like faithful turtles, we’d have but one heart;
Together then, we’d tune the silver lyre,
As love or sacred freedom should our lays inspire.

“ But since, alas! the rage of war prevails,
And cruel Britons desolate our land,
For freedom still I spread my willing sails,
My unsheath’d sword my injured country shall command.
Go on, bright maid! the Muses all attend
Genius like thine, and wish to be its friend.
Trust me, although conveyed through this poor shift,
My new year’s thoughts are grateful for thy gift.”

Shaping his course to the southward, Jones cruised off Cape Finisterre, in the hope of making some prizes. He found, however, that there was little hope of this, on account of the defective sailing of the *Alliance*. He had been mistaken in supposing that he had recov-

ered the trim of this ship, as this had been effectually destroyed by an arrangement of the ballast which Landais had made at L'Orient, on his arrival from America, and which Jones had not probably before discovered. This arrangement corresponded with the mad imbecility and ignorance which Landais betrayed in all his acts. It consisted in extending the ballast along the ceiling, from the sternpost to the stem; a considerable portion of it being stowed in the fore and after peaks, and even laid on the breast-hooks and transoms at the very extremities of the ship; "an idea," Jones remarked, "which Landais might, without vanity, call his own." The consequence of this arrangement was, that she strained and pitched violently, losing her headway at every sea.

There is no axiom of seamanship better established than that the ballast should be stowed as nearly amidships as possible. It then occupies the fullest part of the ship, where there is greatest buoyancy, and its weight is sustained by the upward pressure of the water which is displaced. The bow

and stern have comparatively little buoyancy, and are chiefly sustained by the strength of the materials connecting them with the rest of the ship. Hence the removal of weight to the extremities, besides unduly straining a ship, also increases her vibrations in a seaway; thereby fatiguing the spars, upon which less sail can be carried, and tending, moreover, to arrest and diminish her headway. This defect of the *Alliance* could only be remedied in port, by breaking out the hold. Moreover, her sailing was much diminished by her canvass being old and thin.

Under these circumstances, Jones saw little motive in prolonging his cruise, and, being threatened with a gale, he put into Corunna, on the 16th of January. Here the *Alliance* was hospitably received by the Spanish authorities. Having scrubbed the ship as low as she could be reached, by slightly careening her, and procured an additional anchor, Paul Jones prepared to put to sea on the 28th of January.

At this time, so much discontent existed among the crew, that they absolutely refused

to weigh the anchor, unless they should first receive a portion of their pay or prize-money. The officers and crew of the *Poor Richard* were particularly destitute, as most of them had lost every thing when she went down. At Amsterdam Jones had received some money, from which he had advanced five ducats to each of the officers, and one to each of the men. This sum was so ridiculous when compared with their wants, that many of them instantly threw overboard what they received. The credit of the Confederation was very bad, both at home and abroad ; and the sum which Jones had received at Amsterdam, besides what had been advanced by France for the expense of the ships, was probably a very small one. The officers and crew took up the opinion, that, small as it was, Jones had reserved a large portion of it for himself. Hence, and from their destitution of clothes, the causes of their discontent.

Fanning states, that Jones prevailed upon the men to return to their duty, and get the ship under weigh, by promises of running directly for L'Orient, where they were to receive

their prize-money. When the ship, however, was fairly at sea, he summoned his officers into the cabin and acquainted them with his wish to cruise two or three weeks before putting into L'Orient ; he touched, in an eloquent strain, upon all the topics which were likely to excite them, and concluded by telling them that if by cruising a few days they could carry in a British frigate, of their own or of superior force, it would add to the lustre of their former victories, and be the means of handing their names down honorably to the latest posterity. The officers withdrew his imagination from these visions of glory, by representing the mutinous condition of the crew, and the unromantic fact, that they had no clothes but those they stood in. At this, Jones lost all patience. "I do not want your advice," he said, with a contemptuous sneer, "neither did I send for you to comply with your wishes, but only by way of paying you a compliment, which was more than you deserve by your opposition. Therefore you know my mind, go to your duty, each one of you, and let me hear no more grumbling!" He concluded his harangue

with an emphatic stamp of the foot, and so broke up the assembly.

The *Alliance* accordingly cruised for a few days to the westward of Cape Finisterre, but so much discord occurred among the original officers of the *Alliance* and these who had come from the *Richard*, who were continually quarrelling about the relative merits and courage of Jones and Landais, and so much discontent existed among the crew, that there was little likelihood of their effecting any brilliant service. Having fallen in with an American ship, called the *Livingston*, laden with a valuable cargo of tobacco, Jones convoyed her into L'Orient, where he arrived on the 10th of February. His health had suffered severely from exposure to winter gales and constant watching; and his eyes were almost blind with inflammation. He, therefore, went immediately on shore in search of necessary repose.

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